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Helping Behavior in a Globalized Community

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Sociology

by

Jenny M. Savely

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines the participation of post-Katrina residents in neighborhoods of New Orleans' Upper 9th Ward. I examine respondent self-concepts and attachment to the community to gain understanding of how individuals participate in voluntary helping behavior in their locality. Interview data, brief economic and cultural examination of the area, and my observations as a resident of the Upper 9th Ward inform analysis. The experiences of respondents suggest that there is a tension between an individual's need to seek self-verification and their understanding of themselves and others within their own neighborhood. Respondents' understanding of the impact of their own actions and those of their neighbors reinstates theories of displaced attachment to local context in regards to local community involvement. Findings incite further research as to the division of individuals from their locality within the modern urban context.

Identity, social capital, volunteerism, community, helping behavior, local, New Orleans, 9th Ward

INTRODUCTION

“After all, if we think it is socially valuable to produce lemon-scented furniture polish because people seem to want it and are willing to pay for it, we must also view creating an opportunity to alleviate the suffering of others as socially valuable...In participating we renew our commitment to our values and one another” (Moore 2006:24)

‘Community development’ has become a buzzword in the changing atmosphere of New Orleans’ post-Katrina Upper 9th Ward. The growing influx of non-profits, activists, young urban professionals, and socially aware ‘hipsters’ has created a wave of modern influences in the traditional landscape of the Marigny, Bywater, and St. Claude neighborhoods. For example, informal and formal gatherings of people concerned about any range of issues, including the environment, education, historic land use, economic development, the gay community, and social justice are increasingly prevalent. Most of these efforts are geared toward relating personal issues residents experience into the neighborhoods they live in by advocating in their locale.

Neighborhoods are clearly important to residents. For residents of this unique area in particular, locality represents an expression of self and the characteristics that make them feel “at home”. The diversity of interests, experiences, and values represented are increasingly varied and highly transitional as the community changes and adapts to post-disaster forms of development in modern urban society. Residents negotiate the complex perspectives they bring to the area amongst how they spend their time and experience the space they live in (Beck 2003). The result is a cornucopia of experiences and activities that work together to construct the changing landscape of the Upper 9th Ward where the neighborhoods are still recovering post-Katrina and available resources are still very limited to residents.

In spite of traditional assumptions about attachment to place and community life in New Orleans, something quite different is emerging from the neighborhoods of the Upper 9th Ward. As individuals make sense of themselves among the varied narratives and opportunities in the

area, they engage in what is influential to their own experiences with themselves and their environment (Beck 2003; Lawler 1999). This limits investment in collectively accessible resources, or social capital, that in turn limits the quality of life available in an area (Uphoff 1999). Some resident's limited income keeps them dependent upon what is accessible to them within their locality, such as social services and other resources. Investment in a community's assets by those with access to resources within and outside of the community guides the development of an area. Participation then becomes more complex and complicated with increased globalization and its influence on the local. How individuals understand themselves is also increasingly detached from the specific place they live as influences outside of locale affect their experiences with themselves and others. It is critical to investigate who is participating within their community and how in order to understand how resources are being used and whom they benefit.

This Study

This thesis explores helping behavior of post-Katrina residents in the neighborhoods of New Orleans' Upper 9th Ward. This research examines the behaviors of respondents to explore a viable solution to resuscitate and expand participation within the local community. I seek to uncover how individuals relate to their neighborhood and how this affects neighborhood participation. To investigate who is participating in these communities and how, residents of the Marigny, Bywater, and St. Claude neighborhoods are interviewed and a brief economic and cultural analysis of the area was conducted. Information and perspective from my own experience living in the area and personal relationships with many participants also informs this study.

Drawing on social capital and identity theories, I offer that understanding how an individual conceptualizes self in relation to the area where they reside better improves explanation of whether and how they participate in helping behavior within their community. Social psychology perspectives offer that identity informs behavior while behavior also informs identity (McCall 1966). Identity related to a specific place results in rewards and behavior related to that place; likewise, behavior in a specific place results in identities related to that place (Cuba 1993). Identity theories suggest that appealing to salient characteristics of an individual's identity within a neighborhood should promote participation in helping behavior within that community. Participation in voluntary helping behavior is behavior by which an individual distributes available resources to him to help meet the perceived needs of another individual (Lin 2008: 59). However, few studies have explored the relationship of the individual to the community and its affect on participation outside of the experimental lab setting.

Focusing on the post-Katrina neighborhoods of New Orleans' Upper 9th Ward, I explore how respondents' self-concept affects participation in helping behavior within their community. The Marigny, Bywater, and St. Claude are understood as 'neighborhoods' located in the larger 'community' context of the Upper 9th Ward. I look at the engagement of particular individuals' with their locality and the attachment that provokes participation. How individuals perceive their identity and form their self-concept within the context of place, in particular, is valuable to the study of participation. The individual's understanding of themselves in relation to their community also illuminates their attachment and commitment to the community and their participation within it. The flux between individual gratification and attachment to the 'community' is central to this study. This study will also pay specific attention to displaced

connections between individual and group life in the context of modern conceptions of individuality and social action guides this project.

REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE

The Problem

The Micro-Macro Problem

The basic construct of social exchange led George Homans (1958) to insert the study of interaction into “real life” by introducing social behavior as an exchange within small groups that contributes to larger social structures such as community (Homans, 1958: 597). Doing so demands a relocation of the individual identity within the larger social context. Edward Lawler, Cecilia Ridgeway, and Barry Markovsky (1993) discuss the severed connection of individuals from the macrostructure as the “micro-macro problem”.

Individuals interact with one another and carry their identities into micro-social interactions and into the positions they hold in networks that make up the macro-structure. Individual power is enacted in participation with both the local and the global community as identity is affirmed and enacted. The interdependence of the individual and the larger community cannot be understood simply as a stream of productivity but as an intricate intermingling of all the characteristics individuals bring to the collective.

Individual Participation as a Response

Motivating investment in the resources of the community, or social capital, are “such things as trust, the willingness and capacity to cooperate and coordinate, the habit of contributing to a common effort even if no one is watching” (Solow 1995:97). In an increasingly global society, individual identification with others and conception of ‘home’ is not always contained within the locality of their place of residence. Decreased attachment to local community has contributed to the degree to which individuals choose to invest in their communities. For the local community to act as the hub for both the individual and the enactment of social capital in a

modern global society, the individual must experience attachment to it. To promote participation it is necessary for the individual to experience a positive association between themselves and the community.

Locating the Individual in the Community

How individuals choose the activities they participate in is a result of the individualism required to function in modernity (Beck 2003). Pressures of modernity and globalized interactions require focus on self in order to survive in highly competitive economic and social situations. Ultimately, behavior is the consequence of whatever will “maximize self-acceptance” and responds to the need to achieve what is personally valued (Kaplan 1986: 185). “Self-verification” is the process of representing the meanings of a group associated with an individual’s identity in order to embody the characteristics of the role (Stets 2000: 232). Social exchange theory assumes that individuals engage in interactions with those who are valuable to them, either by receipt of valued resources or affirmation of self (Lawler 1999).

Though organizations are the primary means by which individuals volunteer, the rate at which individuals volunteer via formal organizations and institutions has decreased in recent years (Putnam 2000). Political scientist Robert Putnam (2000) offers that volunteerism may have begun to spread “beyond the boundaries of traditional community organizations” and/or that “commitments to volunteering are more fragile and more sporadic” (2000: 129). Putnam traces the causal factors of delocalization and decreased commitment to volunteering to a weak connection of individual values and subjective macro-level obligations to the values tied to organizations (Putnam 2000: 129).

This scenario sets up a problematic situation that the literature does not currently speak to. Drawing from current theories, in an attempt to restore communities it could be argued that

community development organizations have placed too much emphasis upon feelings of altruism that Putnam indicates are deteriorating (Putnam 2000). I offer that rather than attempting to revive the common kinship and collective values of the past, organizations should approach recruitment by working with, rather than against, the diversity of identities present in a community. Current focus on a common value set among participants and emphasis on what *should* be may not be as effective as recruiting local volunteers by appealing to individual values and implementing strategies aimed at what *could* be with their participation.

The disintegration of local community ties and the fragility of commitment to locality are expanded on in the perspectives that inform this study. The context of an individual's neighborhood, or the specific geographically bound area in which individual resides, is used to examine the extent to which salient characteristics of the individual's identity promotes participation in helping behavior in their neighborhood. By understanding the variety of individual identities and self-concepts found within the complex urban environment we can bridge the concepts of identity with participation in the local community. This study focuses on how participation exists as a venue for individuals to make personal resources available to the collective and therefore bridge the micro-macro disconnect.

This research emphasizes the practicality of recognizing the community not merely as a conceptual body of interworking organisms as but a collective of individuals who make up the operations and resources of the neighborhood. In regards to efforts to develop community, Norman Uphoff (1999) explains, "Much real world experience has already shown that initiatives that did not take into account the human dimensions of development, including factors such as values, norms, culture, motivation, and solidarity would be less successful than expected and intended" (1999: 215).

Power and Money¹

The Influence of Risk and Competition upon the Breakdown of Community

Ferdinand Tönnies' (2001) 'Gemeinschaft' describes a society bent toward aligning itself with the unifying will of collective values maintained, for example, by family, religion, or kinship (2001: 98). However, as society moves toward detachment of the individual from a "unified will", 'Gesellschaft', or the breakdown of tradition and society are evident in that "nothing...is more important for the individual's wider group than for himself" (Tönnies 2001: 98). While this rational function of society results in efficiency and increased progress, it reduces the individual to "starkly equal, simple, elementary units of labour, like atoms" (Tönnies 2001: 103). As such, behaviors are transactional, benefitting the individual rather than contributing to the collective.

Industrialization has contributed to a fragmented global society. Increased competition and risk in labor and capital have created a neoliberal political paradigm in which power and money are central to the behaviors of individual, corporate, and political decision making (Reed 2008). Heightened power of industry, technology, and globalization have drawn individuals and their residential localities into a broader context and challenged the micro-dynamic of the community itself.

The liquidity of capital increases the ease with which behaviors are less the product of specific interactions with others as individuals become more reliant on abstract global financial systems and resource production. Place based connections fade with the delocalization of production and create a global environment in which "communities are essentially understood in

¹ See APPENDIX A for an extensive review of this and the following literature.

a territorial sense” (Beck 1999:637). Consequently, individuals are less aware of their mutual dependence upon other members of their local community.

The breakdown of communal relationships that once centered on common experiences further divides individuals, as there is less reliance on neighbors for survival. The collective experience of risk and reward diminishes with the division of individuals from one another. To decrease personal risk, interactions become transactional in ways that consider benefit to the individual rather than the collective (Beck 2003). Competition embedded in the free market economy fragments relationships and contributes to further divisions of labor which result in inequalities that perpetuate larger structural vulnerabilities for subordinated categories of people (Bauman 2000).

Society is polarized "between those within the flows of critical resources and those excluded, between the network society and the marginalized populations" (Burawoy 2000: 2). Emphasis upon the individual and minimizing risk suggests equal access to resources such as employment, education, and mobility that are, in reality, unequally distributed and cannot be presumed available (Beck 1999: 640). Particular individuals, specifically those discriminated against based on race, social class, gender, sexuality, and nationality do not have equal access to resources and are therefore disproportionately isolated and at risk.

The Interdependence of Communities and Residents

The interdependence of individuals within communities serves both to provide for and harm the success of an area depending on the resources residents offer. For example, public funds are gathered through taxation of individuals within a district. Funds that support public services provided to neighborhoods are the product of government taxation and distribution. In Orleans Parish, public funds are acquired through property, sales, parking and other taxes (City

of New Orleans 2010). The amount of funding available and how funds are allocated is the product of the value of assets within an area and the participation of residents advocating for particular forms of allocation.

The interests of investors and resourced residents often influence economic and political decisions. This has been well documented in relation to post-disaster areas such as New Orleans (Vigdor 2008). Just as corporations are responsible to their stockholders, elected officials are accountable to those who elect them. The power of particular individuals in influencing who is elected often means that officials make decisions based on what best serves property owners, tax payers who contribute funds, and other powerful individuals. What is beneficial to some, however, is not beneficial to everyone. As such, poor or marginalized individuals are not necessarily represented in decision-making.

The Effect of Individualization upon Community Involvement

In recent years the activities and investments of Americans have moved farther away from community life. The many options for self-fulfillment and unique social positioning deplete the resources associated with common experiences and shared risks. Many individuals participate in a “themed environment” when consistent and predictable collective spaces and relationships are absent that encourage group interaction around shared lifestyles (Gottdiener 1997). In constructing an environment, “people self-actualize within the commercial milieu, seeking ways to satisfy their desires and pursuing personal fulfillment through the market that expresses deeply held images of themselves” (Gottdiener 1997:305) Nonetheless, collective action is required to support resources that support the general quality of life in a community. As global opportunities draw resources away from the local, the very environment that sustains communities and livelihood is put in jeopardy. The “ideal” environment constructed by global

opportunities veils underlying structural issues that makeup the quality of life residents' experience.

Delocalization is largely the product of globalization of the local, or the expansion of the local into the "global community". The global community is a consequence of efforts to merge economic interests across national boundaries. Globalization intends "to best solve problems by pooling...resources and effecting transnational cooperation, rather than through individual countries' unilateral efforts" (Iriye 2002:9). Because economic expansion and protection is integrated into all aspects of consumption, "globalization" of the local community indicates that the competition of the global also affects the lived experiences of individuals within localized areas. The "globalized community" is created by the involvement of residents in interactions that draw them out of their locality through consumption and, therefore, in their engagement with other members of the neighborhood. Current literature suggests that delocalization instigates a lack of trust at the micro-level and reliance upon collective values represented by organizations at the macro-level (Beck 1999). This study examines the micro-macro disconnect by focusing on individual identities and community attachment.

Movement Response

Theoretical Analysis of Globalization on the Local Level

Historically, "educational performance, safe neighborhoods, equitable tax collection, democratic responsiveness, everyday honesty, and even our health and happiness" have been anchors of what might be dubbed "the American dream" (Putnam 2000: 367). Theorists and social movements have responded to the devastating consequences of the delocalization of power that has gradually increased since the Industrial Revolution. According to Rosabeth M. Kanter (1972), politico-economic motivations for developing communal lifestyles specifically

responded to the “increasing dislocation, mechanization, overcrowding, and poverty that developed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution” (1972:5). During a critical period in the development of a global society Alexis Toqueville (1840), cited in Schliefer, offered that governments must mindfully keep their citizenry central to constructing the realities of their own lives. He suggested that in the conquest for global trade, basic democracy could only be upheld if it existed as a paradigm committed to “returning authority and responsibility to the states and localities, about reviving neighborhood control, about empowering people” (Schleifer 1980: 121).

Struggling Organizational Response to the Effects of Globalization

Non-profit and faith-based organizations in particular reflect a similar orientation to communal lifestyles by seeking to reify community through value and issue centered “volunteer” efforts (Kanter 1972). An increasing number of movements at both the grassroots and organizational levels seek to address community and global needs that affect the livelihood and sustainability of individual lives (Kanter 1972). However, movements continue to struggle as individualization draws residents out of their neighborhood by means of delocalized resources, labor, entertainment, social networks, and even the ways we help one another. Simultaneously, government policies have pulled funding away from social services such as public housing, healthcare, education, and public transportation that could address issues resulting from continually fragmented communities.

The limited success of organizational responses to needs created by the division of “powerless places from placeless power” is in part due to a lack of acknowledgement of globalization’s effect on individual participation (Putnam 2000, Burawoy 2000:2). Within the new economy of the industrial age is an emphasis by movement paradigms and government

policy upon collective rather than individual values. Movements motivated by religious, “politico-economic”, and psychosocial initiatives have, in the past, renegotiated their activities toward a premise of collective interdependency as a response to decreasing emphasis on the community efforts (Kanter 1972: 3). Although some movements seek to respond to or deter the negative effects of globalization, they do not recognize the impact of disjointed communities upon their own efforts.

Organizations, the primary mean through which Americans volunteer, rely on the power of collective action to promote sustainable action. However, rallying individuals around a singular value to promote participation is increasingly difficult in a fragmented global community. This research hopes to locate the individual within the dynamic of collective response as a means to promote increased participation.

Social Capital

The Importance of Collective Helping in the Local Community

Social capital is the “social networks and norms of reciprocity [that] facilitate mutual obligation and responsibility for action” (Putnam 2000: 21). This concept is important because even though collective movements struggle to gain support, communities function in an interdependent manner - whether or not residents realize it. For example, public funds that come from the tax base of a community provide for public services designated by elected and appointed officials, such as police departments, fire departments, schools, infrastructure (streets, sewage, water, electricity, etc.), parks and recreation centers, community centers and other services. Social capital allows us to empower, promote community ownership, develop relational ties, and incorporate mutual control of a geographic area. Community participation also affects crime rates, educational opportunities and availability, and contributes to the overall reduction of

poverty in an area (CCDA 2010). As such, it is critical to acknowledge the role of the individual in their community and the community's effect on the individual.

Quality of life for all members of the community can be increased by investment in interdependent aspects within a community, such as investment in the quality of life of fellow residents through high educational expectations, advocacy for representation in decision-making, and crime prevention. Robert Putnam refers to this as “generalized reciprocity” which exists amongst networks of social connections. Reciprocity reflects an attitude of, “I’ll do this for you without expecting anything specific back from you in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for me down the road” (Putnam 2000: 20).

The Benefit of Individual Contributions to the Community

Employing social capital theories has led to the development of a theory of community involvement that considers individual identities that form communities (Lawler 1993). Input into a network such as a neighborhood operates as a mechanism that increases productivity in a community. When individuals invest in civic virtue, “person-to-group ties”, and increased availability of public goods, for example, the social capital of a community expands, allowing greater opportunity for its residents (Kanter 1972; Lawler 2009; Putnam 2000).

Social capital contributions by individual residents allows the development of ties that incorporate mutual control and address the conflict between the globalized community and the geography of the local (Collins 2004). Charles Cooley’s notion of the “human” self in collective work and life fosters this paradigm by positing that actors are unable to realize or identify self outside of participation with the whole (Cooley 1998). The ability to identify ‘self’ in the context of participation promotes affirmation of self, attachment, and commitment to the group (Lawler 2009).

Identification as a resident of a community is important because it creates attachment and commitment to the community. This then leads to greater involvement and investment in the community by its residents, which greatly affects the standard of living in a community. Limited ties or attachment to the local has contributed to lack of individual participation in helping in the individual's own neighborhood.

Locating Individuals within the Group

In a neoliberal economy, the liquidity of resources has allowed volunteerism to extend beyond the local level (Bauman 2000). In an effort to stimulate investment in mutually beneficial behaviors, community development organizations often mimic the paradigm of collective values in an effort to make community identity more salient and increase commitment (Kanter 1972). Commitment is practically understood as the “willingness of people to do what will help maintain the group because it provides what they need...attachment of self to the requirements of social relations that are seen as self expressive” (Kanter 1972: 66). The evident need of individuals to simulate a community mentality is nostalgic of a unified collective that is involved and has dynamic influence. Acute attention to what it means for efforts to be ‘self expressive’ is important to motivate participation.

The attachment organizations imitate is realized through social interactions that continue to diminish with the incongruity and pluralization of our consumer lives (Beck 1999: 637). The breakdown of community coupled with emphasis on the individual perpetuates the narcissism that devalues the importance of community and creates an environment in which residents can remain ignorant of the impact neighbors have upon the quality of life in an area. Particularly in post-disaster cities such as New Orleans many residents' impression of those who seek to ‘help’ is influenced by their experience with recovery and relief organizations that often prioritize the

economic value of people and community over the lives of residents themselves (Smith 2007). In addition to the division of individuals from the global, highly intersectional vulnerabilities such as racism, classism, and gender inequalities function to further limit the time and energy individuals are willing to sacrifice for others (Hill Collins 1998). The enormity of efforts required for marginalized populations to compete in the current economy stifles the ability, time, and resources available to even similar others, limiting participation in efforts that are not directly beneficial (Wilson 2009)

Identity and Attachment

The Social Psychology of the Self within the Group

Behavior is the result of feedback perceived to verify individual identity. Likewise, behavior serves to construct identity in a cyclical process. Drawing from identity theories, individuals experience and construct their self- concept and form their role identity in a given interaction through their perception of signs and symbols (McCall 1966). Within this framework, the “self-concept” is understood as the situated understanding an individual has of himself as he exists in the world (Gecas 1982: 3). Symbolic Interactionists understand social interactions and an individual’s understanding of self as being rooted in social cues and expectations that the individual internalizes and seeks to uphold in relation to the ‘self’ they wish to project (Cooley 1998; Mead 1934).

Social behaviors create predictability in the social structure where the actor is able to conceive of and evaluate self in relation to others. Individuals seek legitimation of their presentation of self. As such, they behave in such a way as to correct or emphasize their perceived self-reflection as they interpret themselves through the responses of others. Individuals seek to behave in accordance with social signals in order to represent their identity and persuade

others that they possess characteristics associated with their self-concept (Collins 2004; McCall 1966). The individual's experience with emotions that elicit self-protective or self-enhancing responses in relation to their self-concept is also formed in response to the group. "Role performances" align with a given identities as determined by the social resources an individual gains by supporting particular identity characteristics (Stets 2003:196). Rewards to identity determine the salience of the identity individuals invest and commit to in a given interaction. Response to the group is a result of the cost of participating in the group and behaving in a particular way. The cost/benefit ratio of particular behaviors and participation within a group are the means by which individuals determine behavior (Stets 2000).

Self as a Result of Group Interaction

The evaluation an individual makes of himself, cued by emotional response to situations and behaviors, elicits self-protective or self-regulating behavior to conform to group expectations, deviate from the identity being pursued, or seek affirmation elsewhere (Kaplan 1986:185). Commitment to identity cannot be separated from "supportive relationships" that encourage participation in a group and lead to identity salience (Stryker et al. 2000:25). As competition, conflict, and power are central to all social interactions, these are critical factors to person-to-group and group-to-person behaviors and actor's interpretation and extension of belonging (Lawler 2010).

Socialization, as well as the individual's ability to receive rewards for a particular identity, determines the individual's self-concept. The influence of the social environment on the individual contributes to the actor's social identity via the social structure, expectations, rules, and norms of the group – reinforcing the "identity standard" (Brewer 2001: 117). Consistent

positive affirmation and self-verification within a group impacts the individual's commitment and attachment to this group.

Affirmation of Self and the Value of the Relationship

Sheldon Stryker's (2000) framework for identity theory offers that identity salience is a result of commitments the individual makes to reinforce salient identity within a group rather than individual behaviors that are "independent of supportive relationships" (Stryker et al. 2000: 26). Other similar research has supported this and found that the greater the commitment to identity, the more salient the identity is for the individual (Stets 2003).

Theories concerning relational cohesion assert that one's commitment and attachment to a group conveys one's willingness to self-sacrifice for the benefit of the group by revealing a link between affective and emotional processes and the power structure of the exchange and commitment process (Lawler 2001). Attachment develops as the actor attributes emotional response to the social unit and task outcomes. Similarity includes contribution to the task, success of performance, and sense of shared responsibility (Lawler 2001: 253).

Place as the Landscape for Identity

Place attachment is related to integration to a local area, long-term residence, stage in life-cycle, and self-concept as derived from a broader social context (Cuba 1993: 115). Place identity is determined by how an individual situates themselves in a place in accordance with characteristics of that place and relational ties with others. Cuba and Hummon (1993) posit that response to these factors is determined by the extent to which an individual expresses feeling at "home". Belonging is related to an individual response to their relationships with others, social units in a place, where they reside relative to social ties, and "locus", or the association of self-concept with place (Cuba 1993).

The commonality and consistency of geographic place provides a space where identity is both formed and enacted. “Articulation of self” within a particular environment enhances the development of personal and social identity as “physical, social, and cultural” influences and the diverse experiences actors bring to place function to operationalize the self in reference to that locale (Cuba 1993). For this study, self-concept is the foundational theory I draw upon to qualitatively analyze behavior in relation to neighborhood participation.

METHODOLOGY

Overview of Methodology

This thesis addresses the following major research question: How does identity affect how individuals participate in helping behavior related to their neighborhood? This question will be investigated in ethnographically informed research through qualitative interviews of post Katrina residents of the neighborhood of New Orleans' Upper 9th Ward that explore the following in order to address the primary question of interest: 1) Who is participating in voluntary helping behavior in their neighborhood? 2) How do individuals participate and how do they choose how they will participate in voluntary helping behavior? and 3) How do residents frame their self-concepts in relation to their behavior within the neighborhood?

The neighborhoods of the Upper 9th Ward are the landscape for examining participation and identity. Insight into the motivations and perceived rewards of community participation are informed by qualitative interviews of salient identities of residents of the Upper 9th Ward. Interview participants express their personal perspectives of community, participation, and their own identity. This allows more thorough examination of the relationship of identity and participation by relating characteristics of individual identity and motivation to methods of participation. I conducted interviews within the community where the individual maintains residence. Coding and interpretation developed during the research process to appropriately assign meanings that align most accurately with the intention of participants. However, interviews are generally coded according to concepts discussed in the literature. Field observations from living in the area also inform analysis and contribute to findings.

Research Procedure

The Upper 9th Ward

The particular neighborhoods studied were chosen based upon diversity of socioeconomic status, race, and cultural values held within a concentrated area, as well as for the recent influx of community development projects in the area. I also draw upon my own experiences living in the Bywater neighborhood. According to the New Orleans City Planning Commission, the Upper 9th Ward lies within Planning District 7. The geographical boundaries of District 7 will serve as a guide for the neighborhood boundaries of the study. However, the cultural boundaries of the neighborhood an individual identifies as their residence will be used for analysis.²

Qualitative Interviewing

An ethnographically informed approach is used. Such procedures are appropriate to guide this study, as historical composition and development of the area as well as personal experiences of its residents are indicative of current events, individual perspectives, and individual self-concepts. Face-to-face interviews are conducted with ten residents from the area to both personally interact with participants and gain thorough understanding of respondents' perspective of their narrative. Guided questions constructed in accordance with previous perspectives of concepts of interest for this study informed interviews (see APPENDICES A and

² These cultural boundaries, generally, identify the St. Claude neighborhood as extending from North Claiborne Avenue in the North, Montegut to the West, the Industrial Canal to the East, and St. Claude Avenue to the South. The Bywater neighborhood is understood as the area from St. Claude Avenue to the North, The Mississippi River to the South, Montegut Street to the West and the Industrial Canal to the East. The Marigny neighborhood is understood as the area from St. Claude to the North, The Mississippi River to the South, Montegut Street to the East and Elysian Fields Avenue to the West, this does not include the area considered the Faubourg Marigny which extends West of Elysian Fields Avenue (City of New Orleans). (SEE APPENDIX C)

B). This interview guide is used (see APPENDIX B) to keep interviews consistent in their content. However, questions are not asked verbatim nor is the precise order of the guide strictly followed, as to allow interviews to proceed comfortably and conversationally.

This method is used to determine salient characteristics of individuals identity within a neighborhood and the resulting behaviors related to participation. Interviews gathered personal information about the individual such as personal values, employment, rewards, use of resources, experience with need, sense of belonging, and actual participation. The intent of these questions is to develop a conception of commitment to the neighborhood and identity salience, informed by Stryker's theory that these invoke participation (Stryker 2000: 33). Interviews additionally include questions about perceptions of the neighborhood, themselves within the area, and voluntary participation within the community. In analyzing the experiences, perceptions, and context of individual residents, as well as their participation in voluntary helping behaviors in the local community, I believe I have the data to be reflexive of and generalize to the previously discussed theories. Identity salience within the community may not have been a concern of participants prior to interviews, however, the condition for this study is that aspects of identity most salient in the neighborhood can be drawn upon and analyzed, regardless of the depth of this salience.

Respondents

Participants involved in this study are all part of a unique post-Katrina New Orleans community whose recent influx of development and community activists have been instrumental in framing the perspectives of respondents toward the community and themselves within it. Six of ten are pre-Katrina residents of New Orleans. Four of these six lived in the Upper 9th Ward prior to the storm. The employment of respondents includes social and environmental activism,

education, clergy, childcare, and retirement. Respondent's race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, and age also vary.³ Of ten respondents, four are white, two are black, three identify as ethnic "other", and one is Hispanic. Two respondents identify as lower income, seven as middle income, and one as upper income. Five respondents are male and five female. Three respondents are single, six are in married heterosexual relationships, and one is in a same-sex relationship. Three interviewees are in their 20s, three in their 30s, and four are 50+.

Initial interviews come from two residents of each of the three geographic neighborhoods. Respondents include individuals who are both actively participating in a community-based organization, those who volunteer informally, and those do not participate in helping behavior in their community. Access to this population is offered by the researcher's personal familiarity and connection to the neighborhoods studied. From each initial interviewee, I conduct snowball sampling by requesting contact information about an additional resident of the same community.

Analysis of Interview Data

Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and interpreted. Coding of transcribed interviews and observation notes allows for consistent and reliable interpretation. Coding and interpretation developed during the research process in order to appropriately assign meanings that align most accurately with responses of each participant. This coding allows a more effective way to determine patterns or themes of behavior or perspectives that arise within participant responses. However, particular variables of interest, as derived from the literature, were used to structure analysis.

³ see APPENDIX C for detailed demographic descriptions of participants

I analyze individual understanding of themselves and their participation within the community. Place based experiences and meanings are particularly important to locate individual attachment to their particular residential community. This specifically locates identity within community action by identifying connections and influences that causally regulate identity salience, attachment, and direct behaviors related to helping within the community. Qualitative analysis of this sample allows the study to access more intimate background and experiential views of participants, which are specifically important to understanding identity characteristics, self-concepts, and rewards they receive, or do not receive, from participation in their community. Participation is analyzed in response to questions relating to the volunteer behavior of the individual in the form of organized and non-organized helping behaviors.

Corresponding to the primary research questions, the main concepts of interest are self-concept, rewards, participation in helping behavior, attachment to the community, sense of belonging and trust, and commitment. Each of these concepts is analyzed through the lens of identity theory. Variables used to analyze self-concept include personal values and paradigms as well as influential individuals that motivate behavior. Emotions are related to behaving in particular ways and the motivations that determine how the individual perceives the value of rewards. Rewards understood as experienced through the realization and enactment of values in participation through positive feedback or benefits. Rewards are also related to personal fulfillment in primary activities the individual engages with in the community that are not affiliated with paid employment.

Resources that respondents use take the form of capital and non-capital resources such as skills or time, for example. Individual perceptions of participation in helping behavior indicates “participation”. Method and type of participation are inferred from modes of perceived helping

behavior, response to perceived needs in the community, participation in voting, and in filling out the Census. Helpfulness is understood as it relates to the individual's perspective of need and his participation in actively responding to need in a way he understands to benefit others or reduce need. Likewise, participation is understood as influenced by whether the individual perceives rewards from participation. Perceived helping is behavior in which the actor views the behavior as helpful.

Attachment through relationships to others, with particular attention to place, is understood through the variables of proximity of intimate social ties as well as commonality found in place (Cuba 1993). Belonging and trust are also associated with attachment and evaluated by sense of belonging as well the respondent's trust of their neighbors. Rewards tied to residing in the respondent's particular neighborhood as well as likes and dislikes about the community are used as indicators of attachment. Finally, commitment is related to participation as it aligns with the individual's values, response to perceived needs, and sense of obligation to the community.

Researcher Role

As a resident of the Bywater community and employee of an organization in the Marigny, I had the unique opportunity to both participate and observe many of the developments discussed in this study. My observations about involvement in my own community have also led me to be directly aware of the lives and experiences of my neighbors, making me especially invested in this project. Not only has my participation afforded a variety of contacts and ideas to investigate about the area but also direct involvement, allowing an insider perspective of events and perceptions.

Many of my initial contacts for interviews were friends, professional relationships, or residents whose activity in the community I was already familiar with. Though the three neighborhoods in this study generally differ, their proximity allows them to function as a distinct segment of the city. Because of the walkability of the area and the necessity of walking or biking due to a lack of vehicle ownership, residents are very aware of changes. Frequenting any of the many small establishments in the neighborhood, most owned and run by area residents, is a way to learn about the life and happenings of the Upper 9th. However, many social groups representing individuals with common interests exist within the neighborhood. Dog owners know other dog owners, or at least their dogs, and go to the dog park at regular times; those who work night shifts are early morning café goers, and so on. Community developers similarly travel in social groups in which they are aware of developments and who is doing them. Neighborhood association members have their own social groups as well. I am fortunate enough to be a part of many of these groups, connections that have greatly contributed to my own knowledge of the area as well as the development of this study.

Expectations

For this study, I expect to find a relationship between respondents self-concept as related to their neighborhood and how they participate in their community. I expect that the attachment individuals have to their residential community will effect whether or not they participate in voluntary helping behavior within their community. Their self-concept within the community, I expect, will determine how individuals perceive rewards to their participation and, therefore, affect how they participate. I expect that the use of an individual's assets will promote positive rewards to participation in voluntary helping behavior.

Limitations and Assumptions

Sampling Limitations

This study is limited in the number of respondents who participated. Without a more varied and thorough sample, this research is only generalizable to respondents who were part of the study. However, the intent of this research is to be reflexive of theory and represent the individual self-concepts of respondents in the Upper 9th. The experience of these individuals is also not generalizable to residents of the Upper 9th Ward or all New Orleans communities. In fact, many New Orleanians would likely have quite opposite relationships to their community in regards to the intimacy, attachment, and altruistic behaviors they experience and engage in.

The Upper 9th Ward is, however, unique as a community experiencing dramatic social and economic transformations post Hurricane Katrina. Though findings may not be generalizable, they are indicative of a particular experience within post-Katrina neighborhoods undergoing similar changes. This study hopes to be representative of the theoretical relationship of identity and motivation as they contribute to participation. Previous emphasis upon generalizable samples has served to limit analysis of identity and self-concept as they relate to volunteerism (Watson 2004: 201).

The initial research procedure called for at least three respondents from each of the three communities within the Upper 9th Ward. Even with the many social connections I have from living in the area, recruiting participants from the St. Claude neighborhood posed enormous challenges. Potential interviewees my own social connections offered within the area often did not have telephones or email, repeatedly did not respond to either of these forms of communication, or did not follow through with correspondence to schedule interview times. Individuals I was successful in contacting often related that they did not have time to arrange

meetings or were not available until the late hours of the evening. This may be indicative of the time low-income people must spend to gain access to resources. For example, residents of St. Claude often are reliant upon public transportation to meet basic needs such as obtaining groceries. Lower income individuals are sometimes forced to pay in time rather than financially, which includes spending a great deal of time waiting rather than paying for immediate access to things such as state provided public services.

Ethical and departmental parameters prevented me from interviewing participants alone, especially within their homes. In addition, other potential interviewees were not appropriate candidates for this project due to mental illness. Two potential participants from the St. Claude community moved to other neighborhoods within the city during the process of recruitment. After exhausting the means that I had available to recruit from this neighborhood within my time limitations, I was only able to successfully recruit two participants from St. Claude.

Assumptions

In the process of data collection and analysis, I became aware of assumptions in my approach to the development of theory and of the interview questionnaire that might limit the scope of this study. In working through theories of attachment, commitment, and participation within communities, my own assumptions led me to relate the concept of community directly with the people who reside there. I assumed that if individuals felt personally affirmed by aspects of their community in ways that promoted attachment they would also experience some form of commitment. However, individuals experience attachment to *aspects* of the community, not necessarily tying these to their community specifically or the people within it. Secondly, I assumed that positive experiences within an area would be associated with the *individuals* who constructed the aspects respondents found affirming. However, respondents do not align feelings

of acceptance, belonging, or affirmation with the acts of any individual or groups of individuals. Rather, the source of their attachment is the “mentality” they were affirmed by that drove particular actions.

The assumption of associating people with community came from what I understood as an implicit connection between the activities and dynamic prevalent in an area and the actual people who produce the environment of the community. Findings from this sample, however, indicate that respondents did not necessarily associate the elements of the community to which they were attached to the individuals whose behavior produced those elements. Respondents often expressed feelings of disappointment in their interactions with others. I associate this ‘being burned’ with feelings that create a disconnect between individuals and the activities or concepts that affirm them. Lack of trust in others may lead residents to redirect their positive feelings away from others and toward consistent or reliable ideas that are not dependent on the behaviors of others. I attribute this to fragmented social relationships of the post-industrial age and the dehumanization of consumption. The lack of connection between the *people* in a community and the community itself is an assumption I attempted to clarify in my analysis.

The Neighborhoods

Economic Assessment

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, the Upper 9th Ward of New Orleans, along with many other communities in the city, saw a bout of development and “urban renewal” projects. This area presented an opportunity for return on investments in such projects due both to its proximity to the popular French Quarter as well as its growing number middle and upper income residents, primarily in the Marigny neighborhood. In the past two years a number of new restaurants, businesses, and non-profits have made their way into the Upper 9 and onto St.

Claude Avenue, the main thoroughfare of the area. Other “renewal” efforts include a large public park running alongside the Mississippi River, construction of the condo style Rice Mill Lofts, and a proposal to extend the French Quarter streetcar line along St. Claude Avenue (DeGregorio 2009; Suplee 2007; Donze 2011). In a recent article, growth in this area was described as ‘industrial’, related not to the “residents’ most basic needs [that] aren’t necessarily being met”, but to the opportunity this area presents as a space of revitalization and ambience that draws in revenue (Woodward 2011:9,10). Cultural venues such as a theater, multiple art galleries, bars/music venues, and underground but public speakeasies increase the return of further development in the Upper 9. In fact, the American Planning Association named the Marigny neighborhood one of the top ten Great Places to Live in America Neighborhoods in 2009 (American Planning Association 2009).

While some thrive, others struggle to meet the demands of the “rebirth” of their community. As some facets of community life grow, others simultaneously teeter on the brink of failure. Neighborhood children are left with insufficient education offerings as developments are generally to grow charter or private schools. This has contributed to the busing of many area children to schools outside of the neighborhood, often to academically low ranked charter schools. For example, Frederick A. Douglass High School, the only unchartered public high school in the area has been converted into a KIPP charter school, servicing only grades 9 and 5. Charles Richard Drew Elementary remains an unchartered public school for grades 3-6, however, pre-school through grade 2 have been chartered by Arise Academy. Drew continues to rate as “academically unacceptable” according to the educational assessment index (Cowen Institute 2009).

Amidst these developments many long time, low-income residents have been forced out of the area as property values and the cost of living increase with the rising appeal of the community, specifically the Marigny and Bywater neighborhoods. This type of progress can disproportionately impact various communities. In my personal interactions with area residents, increased taxes on homes owned by generations of the same family have made it impossible for homeowners to stay within particular communities, specifically those south of St. Claude Avenue (see APPENDIX C).

The varied income of residents offers wide-ranging opportunities within the social structure of the Upper 9th Ward in access to resources, work, play, etc. Middle and Upper income residents are not necessarily dependent upon the geographic confines of the residential community due to the fluidity of their work, recreation, and residence. Access to appropriate means of survival, especially for lower income individuals without reliable modes of transportation, is limited. The Regional Transit Authority (RTA) provides public transportation from this area. Scheduled pick-ups from each stop are scheduled anywhere from 45 minutes to one hour and 10 minutes apart and discontinue running as early as 5:41pm at some stops (see APPENDIX E). Access to areas outside of the French Quarter and Central Business District require transfers at stops that have similarly scheduled pick-ups, making most one-way trips last upwards of one and half hours for most residents. This problem is exacerbated for students whose parents leave in the early morning to begin work and whose school buses may not arrive until as late as 8:00am.

According to 2008 Census data, the average median income for the St. Claude (\$27,919) and Bywater (\$26,192) neighborhoods of the Upper 9th Ward is \$8,000 - \$9,000 lower than their sister neighborhood the Marigny (\$32,643) (City-data 2010) (see APPENDIX F). These areas are

also more densely populated and average more members per household than the Marigny. People of color also more heavily populate Bywater and St. Claude. These residents also experienced disaster associated with Hurricane Katrina at a disproportionate rate than the Marigny because of their lower lying topography. According to a 2009 Crime Risk Index (see APPENDIX F), crime in the zip code containing the Upper 9th Ward was rated higher than that of both New Orleans and the United States on all accounts. On the Crime Risk Index for murder the United States averages 100, New Orleans around 200, and the area encompassing zip code 70117, the Upper 9, rated more than 800 (CLRSearch 2009). Educationally, Bywater and St. Claude residents are less well educated than both those in the Marigny as well as New Orleans in general. Marigny residents are, likewise, more highly educated than New Orleans residents in general (City-data 2010) (see APPENDIX F). As a result of these forces as well as those of the urban environment itself, residents of these communities are impacted by developments with a greatly varied intersection of experiences.

Multiple “development” organizations are in which a variety of goals are represented in organizations of the Upper 9th Ward related to environmental, sustainable growth, community development, arts revitalization, neighborhood associations, and multiple churches and faith based causes. New Orleans Food Co-op and the New Orleans Healing Center are currently building or renovating facilities on St. Claude Avenue to expand the resources available in the area. Under the same umbrella of opportunities for growth exist multiple community gardens, the majority of which are privately owned plots.

Though efforts of these organizations are most commonly located within their specific geographic area, local volunteers are of not residents of the area. Non-local volunteers often provide manual labor that supports efforts already in place by local leadership. However, many

of my private conversations as well as interviews reveal a continual frustration among leadership at the lack of committed local volunteers. Among those I interviewed, residents of the Marigny and Bywater communities were active with organizations in St. Claude as much if not more often than in their own community. Even then, their participation is sporadic at best. Lack of frequent participation is often justified on the premise that they have “developed relationships”, or engage in personal or intimate ties with others, a common focus central to progressive community development paradigms (CCDA 2010).

Nonetheless, unmet basic needs are evident. There is currently no public housing within the Marigny, Bywater, and St. Claude area in spite many residents who are employed in low-wage service positions in the city (hano.org 2011). Low-income housing continues to diminish as property values increase and waves of young white developers and urban professionals move into homes more willingly rented to this demographic than to Section 8 recipients. No full service grocery stores operate in this area. Neither do any free health clinics or full service medical care facilities operate within this area. Two community centers that claim to offer housing, medical, and financial assistance are available to residents, one of which is rarely open during its posted hours.

Cultural Assessment

The Upper 9th Ward is home to three distinct communities that offer varied opportunities for residents to find their ‘niche’. It is important to frame the identities of respondents within their specific area so as to locate how their self-concept is active in their community. Reasons for living in their particular area as well as their sense of attachment and belonging to that place are related to how they understand themselves in relation to place. Self-concept is examined as

indicative of who and how individuals will participate in helping in their neighborhood. Cultural perspectives that influence the lived experience of respondents are then vital to this study.

Marigny:

Locals refer to the residential portion of the Marigny, West of Elysian Fields Avenue, as “The Rectangle”. The basis of this historical nickname is the geographical shape of the area in reference to its counterpart, “The Triangle”. This creates a distinction of the residential from the section of the Marigny located next to the French Quarter that includes Frenchman Street, a popular local substitute for the touristy locale of Bourbon Street. The Marigny is locally known for its upper income residents in relation to the surrounding residential areas of the Upper 9th Ward. Of the three neighborhoods examined in this study, the Marigny is occupied by the greatest proportion of homeowners. As such, residents in this area welcome incoming developments.

A strong arts presence in the neighborhood is evident in the placement of many arts-centered establishments including New Orleans Center for Cultural and Arts Education (NOCCA), a public charter school for the artistically gifted. The class privileged and progressively minded residents of the Marigny invite the development of other venues that promote the artistic and the “fringe”. In fact, the New Orleans Fringe Fest is served by the Marigny community each year both in venues available for performances and volunteers who sell tickets, man booths, and manage events. The environment fostered by the Marigny in all these aspects also makes it a comfortable residence for people who would otherwise be considered part of the “fringe”. For example, many gay couples and singles, “hipsters”, “gutter-punks”, tattooed teenagers, and hippies call the Marigny home.

Bywater:

The Bywater is best described as the “bastard child of the Marigny”. The historical context of this area is critical to understand the current environment of incoming businesses, art venues, and a generally cleaner, safer sense in the community. The Bywater, like St. Claude, was previously closely tied to the small industries of the area serviced since the 1950s by the Pontchartrain Railroad (gnodc.org 2002). Homes were previously occupied by low-income blue-collar laborers, black and white but primarily white. During this period the neighborhood was considered safe, walkable, resourced, and was greatly celebrated. Previous residents often drive through the area to reminisce the bygone times of their childhood.

White flight, Hurricane Betsy, and outgoing factory jobs left the community largely abandoned and in severe blight well into the 1990s. Development from the Marigny overflowed into the Bywater as it had no room to move further West into the already largely occupied and developed French Quarter. Middle-income individuals bought Bywater homes at very low prices and restored them. Homes purchased for \$20,000 or less in the 1990s are now valued at well into the \$200,000s. With the transition of the neighborhood in recent years, Bywater has demographically begun to look much more like the Marigny. As residents are largely still of a lower income than those in the Marigny, developments increase property values, making it difficult for home owners to pay rising taxes. This has influenced the high rates of transition in the neighborhood. Renters moving quickly in and out care little about investing time in improving the area, however, many are here for the specific purpose of serving post-Katrina rebuilding efforts in other communities. Residents of both the Marigny and St. Claude recognize the Bywater as a sort of in-between, an area where rents are affordable, but increasingly less so. Bywater residents are likewise considered “dirty” and “bohemian” but still more privileged than St. Claude residents due to race or class background.

St. Claude:

In the St. Claude, residents are still seen on their front stoops enjoying a cold beer and watching the kids play basketball in the street. The homemade fun, unpredictable schedules, and slow pace of New Orleans is clearly evident in the ways St. Claude residents make their living and their entertainment. The low-lying topography of the former swamp led to flooding during Katrina. Already low-income homeowners or renters often did not return to this area, leaving a great deal of blight. With the difficult return of low-income jobs and housing post-Katrina, the mostly poor black demographic of the neighborhood has struggled. Many residents are part of the “underground economy”, selling frozen cups (frozen kool-aid in paper or Styrofoam cups) during the summer, making hot plates, repairing automobiles, running daycare centers out of homes, etc.

According to interviewees, St. Claude is the area most in need of help. However, the traditional New Orleans’ culture of residents frames need in much different ways than frames placed by outside observers. The difficult economic situation of many residents has led to participation in the selling of drugs. This contributes to one of the most prevalent issues in the community, crime. However, residents have recently given voice to their concerns, marching through the streets, holding prayer vigils at sights where individuals have been killed by gang violence, and giving youth outlets such as jobs, after school activities and the like through the “Silence is Violence” and “Stop Killing People” movements. In fact, decreasing crime and the hopeful development of St. Claude Avenue, the boundary between the St. Claude neighborhood to the North and the Marigny and Bywater neighborhoods to the South, has attracted more white and middle-income residents to St. Claude (see APPENDIX C).

FINDINGS

Respondents' identity and their understanding of themselves within their neighborhood play a major role in how they perceive and engage with their neighborhood. The diversity of self-concepts present in this study is indicative of how individuals participate and therefore, how they distribute their resources to their neighborhood and community in general. The lived experiences of respondents vary and create a unique understanding of what is necessary and beneficial to themselves and, likewise, how they are influential to their community. As such, their identity acts to construct how respondents participate and the ways in which they make their personal resources available to their community.

Identity Within the Community

Introduction to Self-Concept within Participation

Individuals who frame their helping behavior as directly helpful to their neighborhood experience a connection between their area and their ability to enact their values or skills in ways they perceive to be helpful. Respondent's perception of the community and their participation in it acts as an expression of their self-concept within the community, which are diverse. If respondents work with organizations as their means of helping, these organizations represent their skills or interests. Many are involved in these organizations as a means of developing social connections with similar others and subsequently become involved in community efforts these groups take on. Five of the ten respondents participate in organizations that they developed themselves or where they serve as a key leader. Often the motivation for beginning such groups is that the respondent perceives that existing organizations do not appropriately address a particular need or group of interested individuals. These respondents feel personally tied to the

needs or interests served by their organizations. By this, respondents create avenues of self-expression for personal concerns, needs, or beliefs.

The value of rewards individuals experience determines participation in efforts that respond to particular issues. This often means respondents pursue the deficits of the neighborhood they experience only on a personal level, affecting which issues are addressed and how. Respondents' participation expresses a desire to experience aspects of the community in which they interact with that suit personal preference rather than collective needs.

Motivations for Living in the Upper 9th Ward

Respondents' identities are evident in their reasons for living in the Upper 9th Ward. Three of ten respondents cited family living nearby or in the neighborhood itself. Five indicated that their familiarity with the area itself was important to their living in their particular neighborhood. Nine of ten also stated that opportunities for personal or community development influence their decision to live where they do.

One respondent, a recent college graduate who came to the city to participate in the Teach for America program, has remained to work with urban youth. He describes his initial desire to come to the city,

“I love to travel and love to see different places, I just needed a change and perspective shift. And my experiences led me to want to come to a place like New Orleans where I was curious about rebuilding and just efforts to repair the city in all aspects, not just construction... I always related and identified with a kind of misunderstood group. I grew up hanging out with friends of all different backgrounds, multicultural and economic backgrounds, and going to school with them in the public school system, I understood the problems that exist and was faced with them on an everyday basis.” (Marigny resident, lower income Jewish male, early 20s)

The cultural appeal of the area and the appeal of engaging with particular people or groups, financial gain, and the creation of new opportunities in the transitory community also serves as motivations for respondents to move to or to remain in the Upper 9th.

“The younger people are more socially aware, they do not own cars, they bike to Tulane. It is those people I reach out to. These wonderful new neighborhood residents that we have that have brought in this whole new set of values that these older people used to have... These young people say “We have the confidence that we can fix anything, if a problem comes up we’ll deal with it.”... I think that is wonderful and it is your generation and people like you doing that... Which means I can take a break, because other people are doing it.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, 50+)

Among opportunities for personal development, three expressed that their living in the neighborhood was in response to being ‘called’ to the area. This response was related to their faith and frame of feeling that they have unique skills or abilities God has given them that are particularly relative to their neighborhood.

“I felt a call to the community, that that is where I was supposed to be, even as a single woman, a single white woman. It made a lot of people uncomfortable for me to do it, but I felt an overwhelming call to be in this community... I wanted to live in the community as a positive presence, you know, informal, but a positive presence... it wasn’t like I was going to go in and flip it all around... and that is what keeps me there now. I love it there. I wouldn’t want to live anywhere else.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

The confines of the small geographic area in which the neighborhoods of the Upper 9th Ward lie also creates a kind of overflow between the communities both culturally and in the ways individuals enact their roles within the area. The opportunity for mobility within and outside of the area also distributes helping behavior within the urban environment and globally. One resident of the Marigny spends a great deal of his helping efforts in the St. Claude neighborhood.

“Largely I consider myself to be part of a greater, larger circle that includes the Bywater, the Upper 9th ward where I work, just that whole area of St. Claude... I see those communities as being interdependent and working together and in order

to access...like we come here [corner store in St. Claude]...there are different things that we share in this area, that are all within our reach.” (Marigny resident, lower income Jewish male, early 20s)

The proximity of the three neighborhoods allows for greater access to resources he can use in his participation.

Attachment to Place

Attachment to the community is indicative of respondents’ identities that are associated with how they see their role within the community. Eight of ten respondents associate their roles in the community with the aspects they enjoy most about their neighborhood. Concepts or lifestyles within the community are sources of attachment. The communities of the Upper 9th Ward have vastly different reputations, each affording respondents a different ideal that catalyzes their attachment to the area rather than to particular people. For example, two of four respondents from the Bywater state connections to the diversity, tolerance, and ‘bohemian’ lifestyle in the neighborhood.

“I love the Bywater because it is funky. There are no rules...Like your house is an expression of your character...When you look at the house, you don’t know who lives there. You drive in the Bywater and you think, they’ve got to be artists just because of how the house looks. It is a hodgepodge. No rules it is just whoever you are and an expression of yourself and that is what I like.” (Bywater resident, middle income Hispanic female, 50+)

The ‘no rules’ lifestyle of the Bywater encompasses not only artistic self-expression, but is stereotypically associated with a separation from modern social expectations.

“I was just following the pattern and the way things were supposed to be, and then we came here and I thought, you know, no, that is not what life is about, following the pattern. And I thought, oh, what have I done, I wasn’t me, I wasn’t free spirited and I fell to the conformity or formality of society and have I lost myself in the process? And now it is like I’m here and I can find myself all over again...I was such a hippie, I was so free spirited... then I came to the Bywater and I found myself again.” (Bywater resident, middle income Hispanic female, 50+)

“Finding oneself” sexually, politically, environmentally, spiritually and in many other ways is a generally accepted theme that dominates the daily activities of many Bywater residents.

One Bywater resident of 33 years, who lives north of St. Claude Avenue, traditionally included in the St. Claude neighborhood but politically designated as the Bywater, feels strongly about the opportunities he has in the diversity of his neighborhood.

“On my side, and this might sound hoaky, but what I am conscious of every day is “oh my god how good I have it.” It is a wonderful reason to live there. You see how truly difficult life is for many of them. Every day I watch the kids come by the house. We are on a corner, so all our rooms look out onto the street. [We see when it is] cold and a kid [is] going off to school oblivious to it with no jacket. There is this one mom with 4 or 5 kids and those kids walk by every day and they are immaculate. They are perfect and you can tell that she lives for these children. Oh, I get off on it.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, 50+)

The other two of four Bywater respondents see their attachment to the Bywater as related to their “calling”. Specifically, they perceive that opportunities are present for them in the Bywater because it is “inner-city”.

“I wanted to find an inner city to work in... There was a calling from God that I started to feel when we first moved to [my hometown]....moreso as I went as a young person on mission trips. I went with our men to the inner city of Philadelphia. Then our youth group came to New Orleans to the Irish channel and we did Bible clubs, backyard Bible clubs with the kids in their facility and in the St. Thomas project.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, late 30s)

Respondents from the Marigny find freedom in the general values of free thought and expression in the neighborhood. These respondents all have deep attachment to the progressive thinking, art culture, and activism that has a hub in the community.

“The attraction to the neighborhood was a lot of neighborhood pedestrians from the neighborhood. Before the storm, there were all the services you could use, so you didn’t have to drive 3.1 miles to a grocery store, which is what we have to do now—at least to my grocery store. But yeah, I wanted that...and I’m not teaching accounting anymore and so I don’t have to be Uptown and this is where it’s happening. It’s a fun, vibrant neighborhood. You’ll never know who’s going to pass by in a parade. We’re indoor/outdoor people, my husband and I. I lived in Carrollton right on Palmer Park and it was lovely but no one ever went out at

night. Here you can jump on a bike and go and walk. .” (Marigny resident, upper income white female, 50+)

Characteristics of the Marigny are particularly salient to one couple and their belonging in the community due to the experience of their eldest son in an artistic and “quirky” environment.

“He can be himself, he doesn’t have to be criticized for being different or creative and eccentric and dramatic. And it is so refreshing as parent to know that who he is being celebrated. So yeah, we definitely know that this is home.” (Marigny resident, middle income white female, early 40s)

This son attends the local school for the arts (NOCCA) where he has excelled largely due to increased support from peers, a resource he did not have in Michigan where his family lived during most of his formative years.

St. Claude residents exemplify a lifestyle and pace aligned more with traditional New Orleans culture than the Marigny or Bywater. Both respondents from this neighborhood discuss how they find their identity in the culture of the St. Claude. The traditional social norms represented here value hospitality and extending friendship to others. This means being available at a moments’ notice, willingness to give any needed time to someone in need of easily accessible resources such as conversation, or allowing a friend to move in temporarily even if space isn’t adequate.

“I’ve learned so much about priorities and what is really important and just about slowing down and what does it mean to really be successful in life, from the people in the community...I’ve learned how it seems like the people who are poor or not in a successful job or successful position in life, they seem to be a lot happier than a lot of these white collar people who are considered to be successful and have all these things. It has helped me think about what is important and what kind of life I want to live and make choices.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

As St. Claude is home to many life long New Orleans residents, traditional culture and feeling of ‘home’ associated with traditional norms is a source of feelings of belonging. St. Claude

respondents expressed a feeling of being out of place in other cities or even other parts of New Orleans.

“There is no place like home and your spiritual roots. It is so vitally important in the time that we are living in. I’ve lived in different places...but it wasn’t for me. I kept coming back here. The people, the food, I guess the lifestyle. You know, when you go other places and you see other culture and how other people live, and their food and how they communicate and how they do things, and mainly the friendliness.” (St. Claude resident, middle income black female, 50+)

Actual Relationship to the Community

Respondents who express attachment to their community indicate a desire to be involved. Actual involvement in the neighborhood and relationship to others in the area is indicative of respondents’ identity and their experience with feedback from their involvement. This involvement does not necessarily relate to participating in efforts that benefit other individuals, but rather acts to build or improve aspects of the community respondents are attached to. Respondents do recognize that their behaviors involve working with and for people in their area. Respondents feel their involvement with other residents demonstrates that they have developed relationships with others. The intimacy of these relationships vary, are generally the product of momentary or semi-frequent meetings, and are rarely what respondents could define as “close”.

All respondents maintain that their close personal relationships are with individuals who do not live in their community, the majority actually live outside of the city. Nonetheless, respondents are adamant that they “know [their] neighbors” and express a general awareness of the activities and lives of fellow residents. These relationships, however, cannot be verified with examples of the needs or current life situations of specific neighbors. In fact, in requesting contact with neighbors who respondents might recommend to participate in the study, respondents are hard-pressed to think of neighbors they can suggest.

Lack of relationships respondents' can draw upon is unexpected due to participants' adamant responses to questions about ties to individuals in their community.

"We know our neighbors, that is very important. Just relationally there are so many different people that live even just on our street. And of course, working close to home, two blocks for me and four blocks for [my husband]. That was very purposeful too, having a true investment in every way to this community to this neighborhood. I think we recognized that we lived enough years in suburbia where you pulled into your garage and you close the door and you sat on your back deck in your privacy fenced back yard and you only knew your neighbors if there was an emergency, or at best, if their kids were the same age as yours and they might come over. And that sense of living in a neighborhood and still feeling isolated when you recognize that most of your friends were elsewhere, I think that was a catalyst for us and we said, "We're not going to live that way anymore"."

(Marigny resident, middle income white female, late 30s)

However, when this respondent and her husband was asked to describe relationships with neighbors there was inconsistency with the depth of relationship they perceived and what they could relate. They related examples of relationships in the following way:

"varying degrees of closeness" (Marigny resident, middle income multi-ethnic male, late 30s)

"And we have met another couple a block from us... we have met their girls. There is a lady on burgundy who has a day care and I see here in morning with the kids going in and I say hi. And tonight when I was going back to PTO they were leaving so varying degrees, just say hello. You realize who lives on your block and who doesn't... and even in the community garden has been a great place. We met the guys who live across the street and our neighbor lives on St. Ferdinand and we met her. And her daughter likes rabbits and our daughter likes rabbits." (Marigny resident, middle income white female, late 30s)

The perception of being well integrated within a respondents' neighborhood is frequent, as is a lack of being able to relate being "close" to neighbors. Respondents often do not have enough information to offer that would allow me to contact their "friends".

Distribution of Resources

Perception of Need

Respondents' understanding of themselves and themselves within their neighborhood alters how they understand both their own needs and how their neighbors experience need. This affects how respondents distribute of resources, as their participation is a result of how they identify needs and recognize variation in needs across neighborhoods. The ways in which respondents perceive needs and participate in helping behavior in response to these needs consistently varies.

All respondents' lack knowledge of happenings beyond their own social sphere in some way. This affects their perception of and interaction with the community specifically when it come to their participation. Attempts to impact changes that effect their own daily experience often creates a veil over the extreme needs fellow residents of their neighborhood experience. One respondent expressed that she saw ignorance as a problem both for her neighbors, however she also indicated that she did not pay attention to problems either.

“[We have] isolated people in a poor area. Not knowing what else they can do. Ignorance [is a problem]. They just don't know about things...they don't know what it is to be told something positive. Adults don't know if they get their GED they can do so much more, as if the cultural norm is against them...I don't think about the problems in my community. People don't talk about the issues because it is the norm. It is just how it is and we deal with it. It is just kind of expected which is actually probably part of the problem.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

Issues such as poverty, housing shortages, or increases in rental costs for example, are never mentioned.

Respondents do recognize the variation in need between the neighborhoods, especially between the area south of St. Claude Avenue (the Marigny and Bywater) and the area north (St. Claude) (see APPENDIX D).

“I think the Bywater on this side of St. Claude is fine. I don’t think people need any help here...To me, this side has already been established. I think the people who have moved here have already established this neighborhood... [People need help] on the other side of the Bywater. A friend of mine is a social worker ... and I went to her house, she is doing a prayer walk, and she lives right on France but on the other side of St. Claude and I’m driving down her street and there are potholes and the houses are run down and then I get to her house and she took her money from Katrina and fixed her house absolutely precious. So I thought, this is the side that needs the help. And I think more churches should be involved in that side. I think that is the side that needs it.” (Bywater resident, middle income Hispanic female, 50+)

Clear understanding of what needs others might experience is difficult for some respondents to articulate, as they do not experience the needs they recognize others might have or do not frequently interact with residents of varied social status. In spite of this recognition, this respondent does not participate in any efforts to address the needs she recognizes in the neighboring community.

Understanding of self and respondents’ experiences are affected by, for example, resources and experiences that differ by income. Interaction with difficulties and opportunities along economic lines in turn impacts respondents’ perception of their community and their participation in it. Lower income respondents more frequently recognize macrosocial needs such as poor educational opportunities and crime. Their experience with lack of resources in their neighborhood in particular guides their understanding of need.

“I see a big need for the city to step up and say something to our kids, our youth, about violence. That’s a huge thing because when I was in elementary, DARE... that was one of the things, NOPD put that on. So I think that the city needs to really step up and go into communities and schools and say, “We have a big problem here. It’s the kids. We need to nip it in the bud so when they grow up, we won’t have these problems because they’ll have something to fall back on. Build a foundation.” It starts with the kids.” (Bywater resident, lower income black male, early 20s)

Middle and upper income respondents tend to articulate microsocial issues such as lack of grocery stores and potholes in streets that damaged vehicles. These individuals perception of need often relates to daily inconveniences they experience.

“There a few convenience stores that carry a little healthy food and everything else is packaged...That is a real barrier to not have access to a full choice of foods. And there is always the blighted houses. That is part of NOLA, post-Katrina New Orleans, every neighborhood has blight. I don’t know if I would call it a need as much as a problem or a nuisance because it prohibits people from being able to have homes or be back in their homes or have that homey [feeling].” (Marigny resident, middle income white female, late 30s)

In contrast to how lower income respondents perceive needs in the community, the participation of lower income participants responds to microsocial issues such as providing babysitters or meals for neighbors, offering situational employment to community members struggling financially, or praying with or giving advice to neighbors during personal times of crisis. One resident who just recently feels that she has moved out of the lower income bracket described her behavior:

“My job now pays a living wage. I’m still concerned about money, I don’t spend like crazy or get every thing I want [but] I feel more comfortable now, like I can hire one of the kids in the neighborhood to come mow my grass and give them \$20 and give them something constructive to do and an honest wage and it helps me out.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

Likewise, middle and upper income respondents participate in helping behaviors that address macrosocial issues by attending neighborhood association meetings, charter school development meetings, or initiating their own non-profit work within the community.

“[The] new president [of the neighborhood association] asked if I would be on the board because she could appoint one person because somebody resigned so I thought I’d do it for a year...It was a learning curve I wasn’t familiar with. Politics, zoning, code enforcement--issues that were bigger than me and I thought, “Oh, this is interesting”. Through the years I got more involved and I’m still on the board—don’t ask why—and a friend on the board and I started doing home tours and different things that I look at the positive because there’s so many negative issues. Like I said, [my organization] came up because there’s

just so much of an issue that [my organization] was so positive [in comparison].”
(Marigny resident, upper income white female, 50+)

Respondents generally have difficulty identifying needs they do not personally relate to. The experiences they do relate to are often the product of opportunities they have, or do not have, because of their income. One respondent, attempting to respond to the lack of green space and the “barren” look of his community, decided to take on the project of breaking holes into the sidewalk and planting trees. He felt that this would make the neighborhood more pleasant and aesthetically pleasing.

“I was going to be a hero. I went to my neighbors and they said “we don’t want trees” and I thought, what are you talking about, everybody wants trees. I was so white, so middle class, so focused in my own perspective. I didn’t really bother to think about, “Do they want trees?”, “Why aren’t there trees over there?” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, 50+)

What the respondent was oblivious to as a middle-income person in a lower income neighborhood is that those who cannot evacuate during floods drive their vehicles up onto sidewalks to prevent them from taking on water. Trees would prevent this, leading to the loss of property in the low-lying area.

Addressing Needs

The relationship of identity and participation is evident in that participants’ respond to their neighborhood in ways they feel are beneficial to addressing needs that they acknowledge with methods they are familiar with or attached to. Personal relationship to the means of participation across the variety of experiences present in the community translates to varied means of understanding and responding to need, framing the use of resources for addressing issues. Some perceptions of useful response may differ by, for example, being a pre-Katrina resident.

Nine of ten respondents discussed ways they participated in their neighborhoods that they feel are beneficial to their neighbors. One respondent who indicated that she did not participate in behaviors that she feels are helpful explained her lack of participation as due to limited time.

“The only thing I volunteer through is through church...I really don’t do anything with the community...I was telling myself, in 3 years I’m going to retire that’s what I’m going to do. I’m going to volunteer to drive the elderly women whenever they need to do something. I want to do some church, like missionary work around here, in the neighborhood, like walking around, going to the other side of the 9th Ward and seeing what I can do over there. Can I teach at the school, volunteer, things like that. And do it through the church. Missionary work doesn’t have to be out of state, it can be in your community. And those are the things I would like to do... I don’t know, because I become so busy, I don’t just stop and think, “Well, I could do this”.” (Bywater resident, middle income Hispanic female, 50+)

Her desire to help, like other respondents for this study, is in ways related to her perception of needs and her own interests.

This participant does not help because aspects of her life such as her job, family, church and “rediscovering herself” are time consuming and fulfilling. She often mentions fulfillment and pleasure as key aspects of her decision-making. When asked why she feels a desire to help in ways she currently is not, this participant explained,

“Because I see so many people doing it and they get such great pleasure out of it. I want to experience that pleasure and I haven’t had the chance to. When I see other people doing something I think, why would you want to do that. What is the purpose of doing that? I really have to think about it and analyze it...you know because it is gratifying. Why don’t I do something like that? It is almost like sometimes I deny myself gratification.” (Bywater resident, middle income Hispanic female, 50+)

Though this participant’s response to the community did not result in what she perceives as helping behavior, her behavior is indicative of her own interests is similar to the motivations others experienced that did result in helping.

Nine of ten respondents also translate their personal values into forms of ‘helping’ by public participation. All but one respondents participated in the 2010 Census and eight of ten currently vote in local, state, and federal elections. However, many respondents also expressed distrust or lack of confidence in government. Participants respond to perceived lack of appropriate government response to community needs by offering major paradigmatic changes to how political decisions are made.

“Here in this city, corruption and incompetence has crippled the basic services, so there is not a sense of safety...If you don’t have safety you don’t have nothing. It’s not as complicated as people think it is. I think it has to do with having competent people who are not trying to make themselves richer off the system.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, late 30s)

Each participant expresses varied solutions, the most frequent being faith-based.

“God loves me and he’s blessed me and I want to do that. So much of the compassion I have and my motivating factor comes from that...My sense of purpose ties back to faith.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

Other motivations for helping include reliance and submission to policing and governance, anti-capitalism, pursuit of diversity and harmony, encouraging young people to pursue opportunities outside the city, giving everyone ‘a voice’, and promoting healthier lifestyles, to name a few.

One St. Claude resident strongly advocates for living within communities that need help.

“I feel like the people who have resources to give or some positivity to give, they get out when they are ready to settle down. And I don’t think that is very helpful. I think it is a long-term solution...even showing the youth and the children what it is like to have a healthy relationship with the opposite sex. What it looks like as a parent not to be yelling at your kids constantly, and to show them a different way. I think is really important, and you can’t do that if you are living in Metairie. They aren’t going to see that.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

Respondents who frame their own skills as useful to the community do so in ways in which they can control the use of these skills and ‘improve’ the community in ways they find

most relevant or appropriate. For example, one respondent indicated that she finds diversity and exposure important for her children, sometimes regardless of safety concerns:

“Our middle son is kind of an athlete so we have purposely put him in all the sports, not just at [his school in the Marigny], but at St. Roch. He happens to be the only Caucasian child, and it wasn’t our purpose for him to be that but because he loves sports was to give him an outlet in his neighborhood, and if he is the only white kid, that is okay. And we have had great relationships with coaches... he’s playing basketball for them. And that has been good for us too, just having those varying degrees of relationship. And on the surface level it is good that we are willing to be a part of that. And we go to all the games and practices, even when someone gets shot a block from the park. ” (Marigny resident, middle income white female, late 30s)

While each participant responds in ways he or she perceives as generally helpful, behaviors are not necessarily framed as beneficial to the specific needs they see as most prevalent in the community.

“Now I kind of bumped it up so these people can be useful to me. In between my family and the people who are useful are the people who I enjoy who help me in all those activities and share the same interests, [association] members, people I met in Bywater because of my activism. Otherwise I am not much of a social person. We don’t throw dinner parties, it is either my family or my activism, there’s not much else.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, 50+)

Many respondents’ jobs or financial means afford them the opportunity to consider and address needs they perceive in other communities that they considered more important than those in their own. One respondent who currently lives in St. Claude and has a Master’s degree in Social Work, for example, previously lived in the Bywater but moved North of St. Claude Avenue in the St. Claude neighborhood because she feels the population she is most ‘called’ to work with is no longer the primary demographic in the Bywater. Her middle-income status allows her the opportunity to quit a job that compensated her with free rent in the Bywater in order to move to St. Claude without feeling financial strain.

Some respondents translate their need to ‘give back’ to the community in terms of helping through organizational means that are not necessarily directly linked to the neighborhood where they reside.

“Everyone does it a little differently I guess, they may not be as vocal about it as I am. [Some people] for example, they don’t own a car. That is their contribution to the environment. They bicycle. That is their contribution both to environmental quality and making a statement. Everybody is different; we all contribute in one way or another, for the most part. I may pay no attention to anything, but maybe I’ll write a check to United Way.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, 50+)

This respondent perceives problems in his community that he lacks the interest or skills required to help. He does recognize his ability to contribute to a funding agency that addresses these issues, though not necessarily within his own neighborhood.

Variations in helping behavior are found between pre and post Hurricane Katrina residents. Respondents who lived in the city prior to Hurricane Katrina tend to rely less on organizational means of participating in helping behavior.

“I do [help] but I also recognize that most of what I do is not frontline...The way I feel about it on a society level is that if I build a strong community in the church, then I am creating a social network that makes a tremendous difference in the daily lives of even the people who aren’t a part of that [church] community. [Others] benefit from the fact that that community exists in their neighborhood.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, late 30s)

Situations in which these respondents define their helping by interactions with specific individuals around subjective issues often occurs with neighbors who live close by or during momentary encounters with individuals doing similar tasks, such as walking down the street or checking out at the store. These interactions provide respondents with convenient opportunities to engage and enact their values.

“Even if I am in a hurry to rush out somewhere and somebody stops me, I’ll be intentional if I think, you know, this is more important, I need to talk to this person... I think about the neighborhood as an extension of myself. I don’t look at

it as “Oh, I can’t stay here when it is time for me to settle down because it’s not the right place to raise a family or be married in”. I don’t even see it that way. I know I’m supposed to be there. I love the community, the good and the bad of it. It is my full intention to be in the Upper 9th ward community forever.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

One who spent most of her time living Uptown does rely on organizational means of response through a non-profit she helped to form. Other respondents who were pre-Katrina residents lived in traditionally lower income areas of the city including St. Roch, Treme, the St. Thomas projects, and Gentilly. These respondents remain strongly attached to their faith and/or church community and feel they are helpful through church activities in the area.

“I do stuff at the church. I just like being around people. I enjoy mingling with people. I enjoy learning from people and I think everytime you meet somebody you are going to learn something from that person.” (Bywater resident, middle income Hispanic female, 50+)

However, all of these respondents frame their helping behavior as distinctly relational, developed in independent personal interactions with community residents.

“I was pulled out of the hood, coming from a poor environment that says, “You can’t be this because you’re from here, this social community, you’re black.” And that’s the same situation with these kids. They live in the 9th Ward, some of them live on the Bywater side but still. And a lot of people say “You can’t do this because you’re dumb, you go to this school, you’re black.” And the emotion support also, because a lot of these kids never had a real male head. I didn’t have that when I grew up. I had my uncle, he was my guardian, but he was never really there. I didn’t know my father so to be that for these kids is like “Hey, alright. This is how a black man takes care of things”.” (Bywater resident, lower income black male, early 20s)

The important life experience this respondent had as a low-income black child growing up in New Orleans without a father and without opportunities that would help him ‘succeed’ acted as a major factor in his decision to relocate to the city and choose his current field of employment. A huge portion of his job and free time is spent “mentoring” and serving as an adult role model to young boys in the Bywater and St. Claude neighborhoods. The ways in which he now serves “at

risk black youth” who are similar to himself compensate for the lack of positive experiences and direction he had.

Diverse Identities Affecting Resources through Participation

Participation as Investment in a Cause

Respondents’ identity shapes the motivations that create their response to needs they perceive. Because of the diversity of motivations and types of participation, resources are distributed according to what is personally beneficial or meaningful. All behaviors respondents associate with participation in helping behavior are motivated by the rewards they experience in enacting behaviors associated with salient characteristics of their identity. Faith, family, employment and particular interests or values, for example, are benefitted by respondents’ participation. Self-expression through participation in these issues or causes are vital to respondents experience with their neighborhood. This expression always takes the form of bringing others into a similar approach to issues that respondents take with the use of their personal paradigm, skills, or other resources.

Those whose day-to-day decisions or interactions are shaped by a response to their faith, for example, are most rewarded by participation in church related activities, in praying with or for neighbors, in being able to share significant parts of their faith with others, etc.

“So that’s where I am now, walking by faith praising God as I go and blessing His name, praying for people. When they come to me for prayer I don’t mind praying....A lot of people done moved out the neighborhood and some people have moved back. But slowly [I am] knowing what is going on. I used to know a lot of people on the block, but a lot of people are scared. I can understand that too, but you have to bypass that because the Word says that God didn’t give us a spirit of fear but of peace and love and of a sound mind. So I try not to entangle myself too much with fear. Before my family came back I would is in this home by myself...Everybody has to take things how they see it, but my faith is in the Word. I believe God is able to keep me and take care of me so I just do my thing. So I’m not worried about all this in the middle. I believe the promises are there and I believe the promises of God. And that is what my life is based on, that is my

foundation and motivation, my spiritual roots.” (St. Claude resident, middle class black female, 50+)

Respondents whose family engages the majority of their time and attention are most fulfilled when addressing needs that would better the experience of their children or spouses within the community. One respondent with two pre-teen daughters who works to grow the youth program in his church wants his children to have what he had growing up.

“When I grew up, I was involved in youth group. Any young person who wanted to be a part of youth group at the church could be. And there were tons of kids who were a part of our youth group whose parents go to church and they had friends and it worked. And not all of them were really really spiritual people, but they really benefited from the safe place. And they benefited. Well, these kids, lot of these kids don’t have that available. Church youth group doesn’t exist. As many churches as there are around, there’s really not a group that you can become a part of and you and really feel, oh I’m a part of this group.” (Bywater resident, middle income male, late 30s)

A Marigny resident who teaches at a local private school discussed her involvement in the development of Colton School in the Marigny, a proposed KIPP school that residents want to be designated as an arts centered elementary school:

“I think maybe because we are both working for schools we are at the forefront for children. But when we are talking about the future of New Orleans, I see [education] as a huge need to provide opportunity for our children. To have a quality education regardless of what neighborhood they are in. And here we are in a neighborhood that is desirable and has recovered since the hurricane and you look at what has happened in the 9th Ward...and the schools there that haven’t returned and haven’t recovered. When will those children be given and opportunity as well to have an education? That for me, especially where we are at, is the biggest need or issue on the table.” (Marigny resident, middle income white female, early 40s)

Though this area does not currently have a public school that would serve this age group, this resident and her husband are interested in expanding art influences in the neighborhood. The couples’ interests and skills are related to the arts, as her husband is a graphic designer, children are heavily involved in the arts, and she herself feels liberated by the arts community.

Likewise, individuals whose identity is attached to particular value sets are engaged in activities in which they can promote or act on these values, such as engaging youth in intellectual or character advancement or providing opportunities for progressively minded others to work toward shared goals.

“My husband and I created a committee ... because I thought that young people would be interested in creating a sustainable life. Initially we got a lot of people and it then it peters out as everything. But we had different programs. We had planting trees, recycling batteries, CFLs, energy efficient lights. We were interested in bicycle safety. I’ve always been involved in that, even way back when we just used to, many many many moons ago, we used to bring our recycling to Tulane. They had a dump and I used to always do it. It’s always been a passion. I did it in my classroom; we used to recycle paper. It’s just my way of life. I do it all. It wasn’t a second nature to me. It’s very comfortable.” (Marigny resident, upper income white female, 50+)

Because this respondent feels concern for environmental dilemmas such as energy use, her perceived form of addressing “need” is through outlets with a similar focus. Not finding an organization that worked toward the issues she felt compelled to address, she assisted in the formation of a group that she felt could respond more appropriately.

Respondents rarely framed their engagement with the neighborhood as obligatory or a kind of ‘giving back’ to a community that provides them venues for self-expression. Rather, participation is in direct response to developing a particular cause the respondent is personally invested in.

“I always kind of felt that I didn’t fit into that dominant class. I felt like I had to be different. I felt I would never quite fit in and be, you know, the poster boy image of America, so I had to find my place in the undergrowth...I always identified with people and saw that the way institutions were dealing with people, that people did not understand that viewpoint and misunderstood urban youth, for example, or other cultural minorities. And just some of the viewpoints that didn’t represent that mainstream viewpoint.” (Marigny resident, lower income Jewish male, early 20s)

This respondent's personal understanding of himself links him to a larger community of "outsiders". The vulnerabilities he experiences through a lack of representation and understanding motivates his current actions to address social injustices related to marginalized peoples. In this way he believes that he commands recognition and 'a voice' for himself that perpetuates the benefit of his work.

Other respondents offer that their participation in particular causes is a responsibility to their personal experience. A local pastor, for example, emphasizes his role in the community as directed related to his success as a pastor.

"Most of my time is spent thinking about making church a loving community... So I'm constantly thinking about, who are the new people, who are the leadership and what I can do with them, and who are the people who are hurting and how can I show love but also try to think, okay, who are the other people who are in this situation or mature enough to show love to this hurting person, so all of this is kind of often on my mind." (Bywater resident, middle income white male, late 30s)

Representing values related to his religious beliefs and position in the church motivates participation. Another resident frames his approach to helping as motivated by his personal development and enacting values he has learned are most beneficial.

"Just recognizing the opportunities and sort of how wonderful the experience is. We look through, sort of, lenses and we are to the point that we have more experienced lenses and are looking through narrow sort of slices and seeing that that is readily available around here I think is tremendous. I think [our participation] is more of a thankfulness. Because once you start building walls in a protective sort of way, you are building walls and you are keeping people in and keeping people out and keeping some sort of ideology." (Marigny resident, middle income multi-ethnic male, early 40s)

Again, translating personal experiences into behaviors that exemplify his values motivate the approach to helping.

The Community and Participation as Self-Verification

Resources are further limited as respondents generally participate in ways in which they feel gratified or fulfilled. Feedback from others in response to their participation affects respondents' perception of themselves within their neighborhood. In lieu of feeling some benefit to themselves, respondents often experience frustration with others and respond by addressing issues independently or informally without dependence on others for verification. This serves to divert respondents' attention away from specific others and needs that may be foreign to their personal experiences.

Eight of ten respondents indicate that they feel their particular method of response is important, if not necessary for effectively addressing issues. These respondents' are personally gratified by their own role in the success of their 'helping'. In explaining the relationship between his personal "passions" of hip hop and academia, one respondent felt that his unique personal knowledge combined with his care for urban youth made him a vital resource to explain urban youth to leaders of the educational system.

"So I sought to bring more understanding, more communication, and more dialogue...I kind of understood the different symbolisms that those lyrics had for people and what they meant, and how something that somebody is saying might not mean what somebody else interpreted it as." (Marigny resident, lower income Jewish male, early 20s)

Personal fulfillment from participation is often linked to intrinsic rewards respondents experience in behaving in a way that aligned with expectations they have of themselves. Respondents consistently frame their response to their community as one in which the problems they identify can only be 'fixed' if others enact the same paradigm of helping they personally follow. Interactions within the community, then, often generate from opportunities to expose others to the respondents' way of thinking or to 'advertise' a cause.

“Our church is here to make disciples of Jesus and so you know that is the guiding philosophy. And sometimes the best thing to do for that is to go to a high school and help someone learn how to read, and the benefit is, even though I’m not talking about Jesus, they all know that I’m the pastor at the church across the street. So that is really advertising for the church. Everytime someone sees my face it is advertising for the church. So I can go to a situation, I can go to the Bywater neighborhood association, and people are reminded of the church.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, late 30s)

This Bywater resident, is involved in specific development projects, using his participation as an opportunity to expand on the influence of his own interests in his church.

Respondents often use personal skills or assets to construct how they will participate. Familiarity with the community or educational system, their faith, or their own experiences with similar needs in the urban New Orleans environment, for example, are used in their helping behaviors. One respondent who lived 50 miles west of New Orleans at the time of Katrina expressed similar views.

“It is very common that kids or youth will come by the house...I feel like they just want somewhere safe to be and, you know, want someone to visit with. A lot of times, three or four days a week, I’ll be entertaining these kids, occasionally feeding them a little bit... You could be one of the only positive experiences [the kids] have in a day... I have something useful to give... I want to be able to do that for them, because I love them...I think they have something useful to give to, they are just in bad environment.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

Each participant feels they adhere to their personal paradigm of response in their interactions within their neighborhood. Five of ten respondents articulate that they had experience positive feedback from these interactions.

“Students call me on a consistent basis and want to work on projects, want to stay in contact. Sometimes they just want to hang out, they want something to do, and they call us. They want to engage with our program. Those things are definitely appreciated, to be given something to be an outlet, which there aren’t many of in the area. There’s not a lot to do for students. So it is basically that students just come by and hang out because they have nothing else to do. They are appreciative of having something.” (Marigny resident, lower income Jewish male, early 20s)

Of these five, only one indicates any interest in leaving the community and then only if given an opportunity to continue his education elsewhere as universities in the area do not offer his desired field of study. Of those who do not indicate positive feedback to their particular method of responding to needs in the community, all but one indicates some interest in living elsewhere. Those who express a desire to move indicate that other places offer them the opportunity to feel more at home, express themselves differently, or offer opportunities for lifestyles they are intrigued by. The one respondent who does not indicate intentions to move relates strong feelings of missing his home and not being at home in the city and maintains his closest connections with individuals from Alabama.

“It is a different culture even in the churches [in Alabama]. There, when we had a baby, we had a Sunday school class that was bringing us food for that that and that. Now when we had a baby here, that didn’t happen...But back home, if anybody in you Sunday school class has a death in the family, or has a baby, or they’re in the hospital, you are overwhelmed with love. And that is just life. There has to be someone to be the gatekeeper for the love [in Alabama]...That was hard for me to understand when I got here, when I got to this church... Someone died and the rest of the church was ‘that’s too bad’ but there was nothing done to show love.” (Bywater resident, middle income white male, late 30s)

Across race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality respondents for this study participate in helping that benefits them or their particular ‘cause’ directly. Likewise, respondents across these demographic categories understate basic survival needs that are unmet in the community save the lack of grocery stores in the area and lack of collective efforts at agreed upon response to issues. Three of eleven respondents mention deficiency of food resources, only one of which feels they participate in helping behaviors that address this need.

Respondents often struggle with the outcomes of particular attempts they make to help, such as the limited number of other residents willing to participate or a lack of positive feedback from the community itself.

“[I wish I had] more men and people who want to spend time with [the youth]... We tried to set up a calling system where we’d call each boy once or twice a week to see how they’re doing, [ask them] are you getting to church on time, but [the adults] wanted to do a basketball court for the boys to play in by themselves. Nobody wants to spend time with them. And it’s an age gap thing. There’s a huge age gap, so I understand that and give them that defense, but at the same time, they should know.” (Bywater resident, lower income black male, early 20s)

Respondents are all willing to participate in tasks they perceive provide an opportunity to employ their particular interests or skills. However, only one expresses an understanding of why it might be difficult to recruit or appeal to participants for their own projects.

When individual residents that respondents seek to help do not accept their views or if respondents are continually diverted from ‘success’ by cultural or societal norms, they become frustrated. One New Orleans native currently working with urban youth in the Bywater expresses his sentiment toward the city in this way:

“Growing up here, just seeing how the city doesn’t progress at all, like the leaders are so corrupt and want to isolate New Orleans from everything... I’d rather be somewhere else. This city just gets so dark. From a young age, I never really felt attached to anything, so kind of just say “oh, bye.” Probably if I leave, I’ll be “oh, I miss it”.” (Bywater resident, lower income black male, early 20s)

Frustration and disappointment at lack of ‘success’ emphasizes their attachment to the paradigm or cause they hope to support rather than to the particular people who experience the needs they address. Respondents who experience incongruities between their cause and the efforts residents or organizations in the community are willing to support changes are more apt to leave the community or to realign their perception of helping and focus on personal goals.

“Sometimes you don’t feel like dealing with people, even though you know you should. I think you have to be balanced with that. I think it is good to be intentional and disciplined, but then you might look at people as projects, and things can get twisted that way, where it’s not genuine... It is important for me to have balance in my own life to be effective, not trying to give out of something that is empty, an empty self, but learning I’m not the end all be all to rescuing

these people, and not seeing things that way.” (St. Claude resident, middle income Acadian female, late 20s)

This respondent experiences a great deal of frustration with organizations coming into the city and her own neighborhood seeking to ‘help’. The privilege implied by notions of “rescuing” is evident in some respondents’ approach to how they participate in their community. Again, motivations return to affirmation of self-concept, or reemphasizing the need for affirmation.

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

This study illustrates the individual identities of respondents and their participation in helping behavior within neighborhoods of the Upper 9th Ward. Though findings cannot be generalized to New Orleans in general or the Upper 9th Ward's residents as a whole, they indicate how respondents enact community participation in the area. Respondent perceptions of their community and themselves within it are indicative of not only diverse identities but also their perception of need and influencing how the individuals participate in response to need. Each respondent's helping behavior acts as a response to issues that relate to needs they personally experience or had in the past, believe are important to who they are, or addresses issues in the community that make their daily experiences less enjoyable.

Research illustrates that the spaces in which individuals express themselves are diverse within the construct of modernity (Bauman 2000). Within the urban environment of the Upper 9th Ward modern economic expansion in the form of business and cultural spaces allows access to a variety of opportunities in which respondents can meet their need for affirmation to characteristics of their identity that are salient within in the area, consistent with social identity theories (Lawler 2009). Particular segments of cultural and economic opportunities thrive in various locations within the neighborhood. Streets, blocks, corner stores, restaurants and cafes, as well as the many non-profits serve as venues for self-expression and gratification.

However, the Upper 9th Ward's recovering post-Katrina and mostly residential four square miles are limited in the resources available to residents. Access to opportunities for work, play, and to general resources such as grocery stores, schools, and shopping, are largely available outside of the tiny tract of land that is home to approximately 25,000 residents (City-data.com 2011). The connectedness residents experience to their community, from my conversations with

them, is also critical. Yet, respondents engage more in issues that are relevant to themselves and encounters that alter their daily personal experiences than by responding to community wide issues that promote shared experiences and quality of life. This is especially the case for residents with the ability to obtain vital resources outside of the community.

I conclude that as individuals are continually divided from the necessity of close personal relationships with others in their locale, they substitute limited affirmation by creating an environment that provides verification to dimensions of their identity they value most. Participants do so by participating in helping behavior in their neighborhood in ways that enhance those characteristics they associate with their understanding of their role as a resident of the community (Gecas 1982). There is a tension in displaced participation and the vitality of the community itself because, as Putnam indicates, “actions by individuals are not sufficient to restore community, but they are necessary” (Putnam 2000: 403).

Diverse Identities’ Affect on Participation

Current literature lacks the appropriate connections that locate the identities of individual residents of a community within the development of the community itself. My findings illuminate that addressing major needs through the means of local participation within the urban community is a difficult and complex task. As expected, diversity among respondents’ identity results in varied means of participation (Stryker 2000). The characteristics of respondent’s self-concepts that are salient in their neighborhood act to construct their perception of their area, the needs experienced in it, and elements within it that they appreciate and identify (Burawoy 2000). Respondents’ sense of belonging and feeling “at home” is often the result of their being able to express themselves and feeling their interests and/or skills align with some aspect of the area (Cuba 1993).

Though respondents felt they were involved in important issues, their assessment of the area's needs did not motivate the type of participation they engaged in. Instead, their specific interests motivate participation. Motivating interests reflected characteristics of the respondents' identity that related to how they see their role within their neighborhood (Lawler 2009). For example, educators may enact their interest in education by attending public meetings related to neighborhood schools. Individuals who strongly identify with their religious faith may participate more frequently in faith-based activities that they associate with their particular beliefs. Environmentalists may enact their values by promoting "green" activities in their neighborhood.

Participation related to respondents' everyday happiness, comforts, personal safety, and use of their skills through involvement in organizations or in interactions that contribute to bettering their experience in the community. Issues that respondents participate in relate to expressions of their identity and attachment through their religious faith, family, employment or specific skills, or particular causes such as the environment or social justice. Respondents sometimes create their own organizations, address needs within specific social groups, or address needs that represent their interests outside of their own neighborhoods as a means of participating in particular issues (Gottdiener 1997). The selectivity with which respondents determine how they participate affects, often limiting, the range of issues being addressed in the community (Smith 2007).

Limiting Resources

Attachment to abstract concepts in neighborhoods limits both respondents' understanding of others' experience with need and divides necessary resources from issues not addressed by individual life experiences, interests, or needs, for example. Attachment to place as related to

particular concepts also detracts from commitment to specific others. The specialized issues respondents are involved pulls involvement away from large-scale issues in the community, leaving certain problems without that attention that catalyzes collective action. For those affected by poverty, hunger, gentrification, or poor educational opportunities in the Upper 9th Ward, lack of recognition means that neighbors with the social power and resources to assist may be unaware of their plight (Reed 2008). Those with limited resources or power to affect change for themselves are then left without support or strong advocates as more resourced residents are unaware or do not consider the effect of individual residents' experience on the community in general.

Concluding Response

Lack of recognition of basic human needs within an area and the interdependence of residents' quality of life stifles opportunities for collective resources and development. If individual residents are not participating in ways that serve needs other than those they personally experience or have skill in addressing, efforts should be unified under a specific task to address general community needs. Unifying the skills, interests, and assets of individual residents toward a common goal could be tremendous. Types of "helping" behavior individuals are willing to participate in could be implemented under individual tasks that serve a common purpose to address macro-issues, such as crime, education, or housing, that affect all residents in the community.

If outlets for participation would address residents' desire to align their skills, interests, or assets with an issue that elicits personal benefit, research offers that organizations would be more successful in appealing to local participants. To be successful, it is necessary that organizations or individuals seeking to recruit participants in voluntary activities recognize the variation in

identities within the Upper 9th Ward. Findings illustrate a lack of collectively experienced needs among respondents. Even among residents who similarly valued their faith and religious beliefs, the beliefs among these vary so drastically that value centered recruitment toward religious expression would likely also be unsuccessful. In fact, the two respondents who worked with faith-based organizations expressed discouragement in their lack of ability to recruit participation even from members of the organization.

Recommendations for Further Research

As in all studies, further questions are raised by findings. For example, how do people understand the association between individuals and their community when relational ties seem weak? The importance respondents place on relatively weak ties in their community could be related to negotiating life and values with the diverse connections in contemporary society, however, further study is called for to address this finding. The question as to how individuals form attachments in the urban environment is also raised. Further research on community attachment should seek to further expand understanding of how individuals form their attachments in addition to how they are motivated to participate in their neighborhood. Particular attention should be paid to the dynamic present in this study in which individuals associated their attachment to particular concepts, causes, or activities rather than people in the neighborhood. However, neighborhood attachments themselves, whether strong or weak, also merit further study.

The detachment of respondents in this study from their community, amidst the support and personal development many experienced there, resulted in a lack of commitment to the area or other residents. What drives individual commitment to abstract concepts, privileging ideas over people, should also be examined in further research. The perception of influence of

concepts on well being as influencing what an individual privileges would be important to further study. Furthermore, sociological analysis is necessary to examine individual lack of awareness of their neighbors as effectual to their own quality of life. Lack of education as to how public funding is both acquired and designated is a likely contributor to this lack of appropriate association.

It is also critical to note that the current literature directly associates attachment with commitment, connecting attachment to participation. However, findings from this study indicate that individual attachment to community does not necessarily lend itself to commitment. Respondents in this study were frequently apt to withdraw from an activity or express a desire to leave a community if they did not continue to experience personal affirmation. Understanding why people withdraw from participation is just as important to explaining participation rates as understanding those who do participate.

This research also has implications organizations as well as individuals hoping to appeal to local volunteers for participation in community efforts to motivate greater participation. Attention should also be paid to developing the perspective of a community's residents as to the relevance of participation and understanding as to how resources are distributed in a locale. The development of a formulaic response to developing this strategy could be helpful to efficiently promoting participation.

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APPENDIX A

Extensive Review of Current Literature

Power, Money, and Community

In *Community and Society*, Ferdinand Tönnies (2001) discusses society's progression away from collective values and toward a prioritization of the individual in broader society. Legal and community reinforcement of the characteristics of collective values uphold social norms, in a way similar to the system described in Durkheim's 'collective conscience'. This type of behavior aligns with the modern paradigm of weighing the cost/benefit of an action in order to determine how an individual will engage. In the development of a global society, power, commodities, and behaviors are situated in a larger frame and are affected by influences transcending geographical boundaries. As resources are no longer contained within the boundaries of place, this delocalizes individuals from their residential community. Furthermore, the concept of place and attachment to it is farther removed from the daily lives of individuals. Business developments from the Industrial Revolution's increase in communication and transportation have, according to most scholars, "disrupted local commerce and threatened place based social connection" (Putnam 2000: 376). Residents of modern society exist within a consumer society in which they "often share physical spaces of consumption...without having any social interaction" (Bauman 2000: 97). As such, individual, is part of a consumer culture that encourages "action, not *inter*-action" dividing workers from capital. "Communities", then, "are essentially understood in a territorial sense" and risk is personal as well as collective and is distributed unequally as individuals seek to protect themselves from the uncertainty of global society (Beck 1999: 637).

Alexis Tocqueville ascribes this movement toward centralization of power and away from the citizenry to a misconceived and inappropriately enacted measure of democracy. Tocqueville views democracy as effective only when it is elementally defined by the concept that the

individual is effective in creating and contributing to their environment, as they are the product and producer of it. Without this, inequalities resulting from an expansive free labor market will continue to turn individual focus away from connections to the collective and toward a “power game” created to fight individual risk (Beck 1999: 638). Tocqueville proposes that the government or any other entity must centrally locate individuals in decisions as ‘centers of authority’ in constructing the realities of their individual lives (Schleifer 1980: 121). He offers that this redefinition of, or returning to, democracy is wrapped up in “returning authority and responsibility to the states and localities, about reviving neighborhood control, about empowering people” (Schleifer 1980: 121).

In the transformation into industrialized, and individualized, society individuals behave in social interactions in ways that both reduce the risk they experience and enhance affirmation of characteristics they associate with themselves (Beck 1999; Cooley 1998). However, emphasis upon the individual and minimizing risk implies equal access to resources such as employment, education, and mobility that are, in reality, unequally distributed and cannot be presumed available (Beck 1999: 640). Competition embedded in the free market economy fragments relationships and contributes to further divisions of labor which result in inequalities that perpetuate larger structural vulnerabilities around race, social class, gender, sexuality, nationality, to name a few.

Many grassroots “utopian” or “communal” movements act as a response to the inequalities by attempting to reconstruct or maintain a sense of unity and primary values that are diminishing in global society. These communities focus on the conceptualization of community and the lived experiences of the “small scale social system” by emphasizing commitment to the group with which they live and work (Kanter 1972: 62; Beck 2003: 3; Beck 1999: 637). This is especially

important as these groups intend operate independently amidst societal divisions imposed by the modern world. Yet efforts to sustain a structure bound to collective values often fail because they emphasize a type of “identity mortification” in which individual identity is secondary, if not wholly suppressed, by a new community/group identity (Kanter 1972: 66).

Social Capital

The necessity for social involvement by individual residents, given an expanding global environment, is increasing as tangible response declines. The impact of community upon the individual is one in which social networks facilitate the means by which individuals not only interact but develop relationships which foster “good deeds” and make individuals aware of the lives and needs of others (Putnam 2000: 117). The urban setting, in particular, serves as the location for “not a single, tightly integrated community, but a mosaic of loosely coupled communities” (Putnam 2000: 96). As such, social capital can be aptly investigated within this environment. Previously lacking in studies of social capital is an emphasis upon the individual. Putnam finds that while collective “civic acts” have declined, individual acts have done so by a less rapid degree. According to his study, civic engagement, political interest, as well as having received help, are strong predictors to volunteering, philanthropy, and helping behavior in general (Putnam 2000: 117, 132 and 122).

As inequalities persist from a structural level, they are experienced daily in the landscape of the local. The environment of the local determines education and job opportunities, availability of resources, crime, vulnerabilities, etc. The enormity to which inequalities are experienced, however, can be circumvented through increased investment in the social capital of a community. Collective resources in the form of social capital are understood as having the capacity to “have a payoff in terms of aggregate productivity” (Solow 1995: 7). As social

connections serve both the individual and the structure in which they interact, social capital comes from both individual and structural levels. Thus, investment can be broached through both cognitive and structural means. Cognitive social capital for the individual is understood as "deriv[ing] from mental processes and resulting ideas, reinforced by culture and ideology, specifically norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs that contribute to cooperative behavior and mutually beneficial collective action" (Uphoff 1999: 218). Structural social capital is "associated with various forms of social organization; particularly roles, rules, precedents, and procedures as well as a wide variety of networks that contribute to cooperation, and specifically to mutually beneficial collective action" (Uphoff 1999: 218). It is important to note that these behaviors are not specifically motivated by altruism or a sense of helping they may engage, but rather the perceived social consequences of behaviors in relation to the individual's social role.

The importance of investigating social capital is that "if we develop a sufficiently powerful theory on the micro-level, it will unlock some secrets of large-scale macro-sociological changes as well", benefiting the perception of individual impact on the system. This will allow for a more intricate understanding of how to approach social change (Collins 2004: 3). Putnam notes a decline in participation in social capital in both formal and informal relationships and specifically that "organizations are less exclusively the route to volunteering" (Putnam 2000: 129). Investment in social capital is increasingly in jeopardy as the "micro" is further disconnected from the "macro" in the move from "locational communities to "vocational communities" (Putnam 2000: 85). This movement has detracted from the importance of place in such a way that investment in the larger social unit has moved outside of local communities and is decreasingly part of social norms.

Identity

Identity theory posits how positive associations are experienced in its construct of the self-concept and role identity. This behavior is present in George J. McCall and J.L. Simmons' (1966) concept of role identity, that defines how an actor perceives himself, and therefore acts, in a given social position. This perception is dictated by an actor's attempt to divide himself from the anatomical, chemical, and physiological elements of his being, the "animal world" and define himself as a "creature of ideals, evaluation, and volition" (McCall 1966: 40). An actor's identity is formed in such a way as to legitimate him in this ideal. This requires persuading not only self but also others that the actor possesses the characteristics of this identity. Legitimation by others in an interaction is actively sought in "role-performances" as the actor seeks to be affirmed in his identity.

Role-identities map how an actor will determine the meaning of objects and behavior standards that interact with symbols and signs as well as "simulate exchange of resources" (Stets 2003:145). The prominence of a given identity is likewise due to perceived gains in social support, commitment to investing in this identity, and the "extrinsic and intrinsic gratifications associated with it" (McCall 1966: 79). Legitimation of identity necessitates receipt of this "social capital" (McCall 1966: 96). To do so, actors exchange these rewards in an interaction, each seeking to maximize benefit to individual identity. What and how much of rewards are given to others is dependent on an actor's cost in giving these rewards. An actor responds to discrepancies between identity and support received in ways that will change how he is perceived in the interaction or how he perceives himself. To understand this perception, we must, as directed by McCall and Simmons, understand the individual himself and his behavior as reactions toward how he interacts and interprets symbols.

The reflexive “self-categorization” of identity theory is the process by which the individual “categorizes, classifies, or names” “self” as an object within an interaction (Stets 2000: 224). Within identity theory the “self-concept” is understood as the situated understanding an individual has of himself as he exists in the world (Gecas 1982: 3). Derived from the combination and organization of the individual’s “various identities and attributes”, the self-concept is, according to Rosenberg, “the totality of an individual’s thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object” (Rosenberg cited in Gecas 1982: 3). The social structure is reflexively made up of the role identities an individual situates within a social interaction (Gecas 1982: 14). As such, the self-concept cannot exist without the perceptions of others. It is by this meter that the self-concept develops and is enacted. Socialization guides individual awareness of the characteristics associated with his various identities. Meanings given to actions of the individual are thus applied to the relationship between the individual self-concept and societal understanding.

Marilynn B. Brewer (2001) examines the link between social groups and the self in her work on social identity. Pulling from multiple theories, Brewer explores the influence of social structure on the construction and enactment of individual identity. While role identity gives insight to individual characteristics of self-concept, social identity is the understanding of the characteristics of self within a group. Social identity represents the “rules, expectations, and norms” associated with the positions individuals hold in a group (Brewer 2001: 117). In the search for affirmation, the individual, guided by self-concept, attempts to embed themselves within the “identity standard” represented by social cues present in an interaction (Stets 2000). Modernization’s defragmentation of the collective and emphasis on individualization increases focus on this gratification of the self.

Nonetheless, Brewer, citing Henri Tajfel, offers that participation in relationships and groups is the arena in which individual self-concept, through the knowledge of group membership and the “value and emotional significance” of this membership is formed (Brewer 2001: 117). Stets (2005) explains that discrepancy or cohesion between the self-concept and situational understanding is reflected in emotional response to social situations. Pursuit of positive emotions is a motive in seeking self-understanding and self-verification. Social support leads to emotional salience of an identity as emotion indicates whether or not identity is confirmed. In affect control theory, as Stets explains, this process of being aware of social response to actions as positive or negative to salient values while simultaneously regarding emotion as a cue to discrepancies in outcome and identity standard is called “self-regulated” behavior (Stets 2005: 41).

Howard Kaplan’s (1986) theory of self-referent behavior extends the dynamic association between the individual and society. Accordingly, the person is a product of social systems. Experiences contain behavior by others toward characteristics of the person and thus influence self-concept. The person is a social force that evokes responses from others. These responses contribute to a social identity of “interlocking roles” that affect one another’s “role functioning” through expectations (Kaplan 1986: 178).

Behaviors in interactions then create predictability in the social structure. As such, interactions make an actor able to conceive of and evaluate self in accordance with self-concept as well as experience emotions that elicit self-protective or self-enhancing responses. The outcome is self-referent behavior. Socially, an individual will conform or deviate from social expectations in his self-protective or self-enhancing response (Kaplan 1986). In conforming, an individual will prioritize those values he can feasibly approximate and reject those he cannot.

Ultimately, behavior will reflect whatever will “maximize self-acceptance” but also recognize the need to achieve what is personally valued (Kaplan 1986: 185).

Emile Durkheim discusses group involvement through an understanding of particular group norms conceived as “collective consciousness” (Durkheim 1995). The individual is a member of a collective in which his understanding of social actions and their meaning is developed. The individual seeks solidarity with the social group and therefore bases his actions on how the collective group attributes actions or objects as either sacred or profane. Essentially, Durkheim poses that individual’s behave in such a way as to uphold the values of their primary group in order to maintain a sense of unity with the group. However, he agrees that emphasis on group values can break down within the excessive individualism of modernity (Durkheim 1995).

The multiple roles at play in interactions of modern society leaves the identity salience of an individual to be situationally variable (Stryker 2000). Sheldon Stryker extends New Social Movement literature in that the “me”, or role an individual chooses, is related to the “we”, or collective identity an individual takes on (Stryker et al. 2004). “Roles”, he states, “are situationally specific; sociodemographic categories are transsituational, carrying across particular situations” (Stryker et al. 2000: 24). His framework for identity theory within social movements elucidates the problems with separating role identity and collective identity as identity salience is a result of commitments rather than individual behaviors that are “independent of supportive relationships” (Stryker et al. 2000: 26). The greater the commitment to identity through an increased number of connections related to it, the higher the identity is on the salience hierarchy (Stets 2003: 140). New Social Movement literature is limited as it is restricted to those individuals already active in social movements who have relationships both internal and external to the movement that affirm participation. There is also no consideration for the external

identities of the individual, or external relationships that may conflict with joining a movement (Stryker et al. 2000: 25).

Commitment

Stryker offers that roles and identities external to social movements, which are many, may subvert or encourage group participation and therefore must be embedded in consideration for identity salience (Stryker et al. 2000: 25). Accordingly, “social behavior is specified by focusing on role-related choices”, however these role choices are the effect of identity salience derived from commitments that are the result of affirmation of one of an individual’s multiple identities (Stryker et al. 2000: 27, 29). In this construct, social behavior, particularly participation in social movements, is affected by confirmations of both the “me” and “we” (Stryker et al. 2000: 24). Competition and conflict construct the landscape for social conceptions of individual identity and are thus “oriented...to social change” (Stryker et al. 2000: 24). In order to engage individual identity within the collective, movements must be aware of the interests at play which motivate attachment to the collective. Stryker posits that as “role choice reflects identity salience but identity salience reflects commitment” those seeking to understand or compel movement participation must “gather data on both commitment and identity salience” (Stryker et al. 2000: 33). Self-esteem, resulting from motivational self-reinforcing and self-enhancing salient identities, is argued to further the individual’s seeking out opportunities to act out the roles associated with these identities (Stryker et al. 2000: 35).

Social exchange theory assumes interaction amongst actors who serve as valuable to one another, either by receipt of valued resources or affirmation to self which indicates rewards and, therefore, commitments. Value is reliant upon an individual’s self-interest in interacting with individuals with a mutually interdependent goal. Exchange, as discussed by Lawler and Thye

(1999) involves emotional tone, rules, and measures of dealing with emotions when they arise. In response to an involved “event, action, or object” in the interaction, cultural norms evoke expectations and structural relationships that evoke social positions in an exchange (Lawler 1999: 221). Emotions signal adherence to expectations and status conditions that modify understanding of the exchange. Through the context, process, and outcome of joint activity of exchange relationships, positive or negative emotions are produced that affect strength and affective attachment to the exchange relationship.

Affect control theory dictates that individuals carry meaning for themselves as well, signaling what is positive and negative in an exchange. Individuals seek consistency in personal perception of meaning experienced in a given situation. In the joint activity of an exchange, according to the theory of relational cohesion, the structure invites commitment to successful exchange relationships. As the relationship becomes more salient, actors experience greater cohesion to the exchange relation, and therefore experience greater attachment.

Exchange, through joint task, common emotion, and “person-to-unit” attachment, is interpreted as a form of solidarity within a social group (Lawler 2001: 245). Recognition of the emotional role in exchange allows contribution to exchange in the form of attachment or detachment to social units. As behaviors in exchange relations take into account the interests and welfare of other actors, solidarity becomes a more present option. Relational cohesion theory relates that commitment and attachment dictates when actors are willing to sacrifice in order to benefit the group. Relational cohesion offers a connection between the power structure of the exchange and commitment through the lens of emotional process.

Affect theory postulates that it is this commitment to exchange, rather than frequency, which dominates solidarity. Lawler theorizes that the conditions by which actors make positive

attributions to the social unit strengthen attachment to it. Attachment is determined as the actor relates emotion to the social unit through processing of jointness of tasks. Jointness includes contribution to the task, success of performance, and sense of shared responsibility (Lawler 2001: 253). Interaction ritual theory, discussed by Randall Collins (2004), posits that,

"occasions that combine a high degree of mutual focus of attention, that is, a high degree of intersubjectivity, together with a high degree of emotional entrainment...result in feelings of membership that are attached to cognitive symbols; and result also in the emotional energy of individual participants, giving them feelings of confidence, enthusiasm, and desire for action in what they consider a morally proper path" (Collins 2004: 42).

Behavior is, as Lawler defines, either self-serving or attributed to the social unit. Structures of social exchange vary depending on the purpose; to produce a good, determine a trade or exchange of goods, and to provide benefit. Each exchange carries varied individual interests and perceptions of self. Attachment, Lawler claims, is strengthened by dependence on exchange as a stable source of emotion and as it enables the ability of the actor to exercise control over the events which promote positive or negative emotion (Lawler 2001: 258).

Pamela Paxton and James Moody (2003) examine the relationship between identity and emotion as it regards attachment to a group. Identification with a social unit is formed in the dimensions of "sense of belonging" and morale, indicating desire to belong to the group (Moody 2003: 35). If membership corresponds with access to valued assets within the group, such as friendship ties, actors are more likely to experience commitment to the social unit. Though division decreases belonging, members in central roles, such as authority figures, have an increased sense of belonging. Paxton and Moody relate this to attachment to the "symbolic representation" of the group rather than to individuals (Moody 2003: 45).

These meanings are the result of an "interaction ritual chain" that pulls meaning to interactions through experiences of the past in combination with the rituals governing present. Actors project past experiences into an interaction, forming a structure of symbols, markets,

stratification, emotion, and identity. Collins attributes group solidarity to the effects of participation in the rituals of a social system that are charged with symbolic meaning common to actors (Collins 2004: 41). Collective action and shared emotion amongst members of a group acts to reinforce membership in the group results in social rituals of the group, i.e. markers of group identity, symbols, emotional energy, and morality. These rituals govern the “laws and processes” in a given interaction (Collins 2004: 5).

Attachment and Participation

Lee Cuba and David M. Hummon (1993) directly attach identity formation and enactment as well as affirmation to environment through the commonality found in place. In this, the personal *and* social identity makes up “place identity”, or the understanding of self, using symbols and meanings in a particular environment. “Articulation of self” within a particular environment enhances the development of personal and social identity as “physical, social, and cultural” influences and the diverse experiences actors bring to places functions to operationalize the self in reference to place. As such, places develop meaning to individuals that evokes attachment.

Doug McAdam and Ronnelle Paulsen (1993) observe a correlation between feelings invoking participation and social ties and activism. Pulling from Stryker’s work on multiple identities and identity salience, McAdam and Paulsen construct a framework that associates identity with social activism and movements through a three-step process to conceptualize action as representative of identity salience. In order to provoke participation, a movement must construct recruitment around appeals to the individual by making salient a particular identity among various identities an individual embodies. The individual must associate the movement with a salient identity by linking action with characteristics of the identity affirmed by those who normally sustain the individual’s identity salience (McAdam 1993: 647).

Recruitment, therefore, must align with the individual's hierarchy of identities in order to appeal to the most salient. McAdam and Paulsen continually return to relational support from outside and inside the movement as well as emphasis upon the centrality and importance of these in relation to the movement itself. These relationships and social ties maintain support for the individual's identity salience, strengthening participation when associated with identity characteristics.

As participation with a group is dependent upon attachment and belonging, participation in helping behavior without tangible or immediate benefit requires purposed emphasis upon affirming identity. John Wilson and Marc Musick (1997) link the rewards of "helping" to demographic social ties to identity, such as age, gender, race, education, status, health, social capital, and religiosity. Through rewards of community, human, social and cultural capital individuals "obtain commitment" to the group as a unit that offers "solidarity incentives" (Musick 1997:709). Articulation of values, then, entices participation. Though actual volunteer work is indirectly affected by the variables explored, these roles reflect social statuses the individual aligns with their participation. Individuals will therefore respond in accordance with understood rewards determined by the amount of capital they can amass from participation.

Positive or negative effects on participation are a result of an individual's conception of himself as related to, for example, race, socioeconomic status, and/or gender. Meanings of such variables held by a social unit determine perceived rewards of participation. However, the social perception of participation is also motivated by how individuals perceive their participation. According to Wilson and Musick, formal volunteering is socially related to religiosity while informal helping is perceived as secular. Putnam verifies the relationship of participation to demographics by presenting statistics that offer religious involvement as a strong predictor of

voluntary behavior, even when it excludes specifically religious involvement (Putnam 2000: 67). From this stance, volunteerism is explicitly related to social capital as regards social ties and affirmation of particular identities.

Social exchange theory explains behavior in interactions as a response to a kind of cost-benefit analysis in which the individual gauges the value of interaction by the presence of power and status. These dynamics determine the risk and reward of engaging in an interaction, influencing the extent to which valued resources will be exchanged. Furthermore, efforts of mutually beneficial collective action (MBCA) "coordinat[e] patterns of cooperative behavior" and are further beneficial as "cooperation enables members to learn about one another's traits- for example, that they are trustworthy...[C]ooperation begets further cooperation" (Uphoff 1999: 218; Dasgupta 1999: 355). The division of the individual from place disturbs the predictability individuals have of their community, making them less attached and therefore increasingly marginalized and less participating. The affect control theory of social exchange likewise submits that "solidarity is manifest to the degree that behaviors take account of and weigh the interests and welfare of others and the group itself" (Lawler 2001: 247). Accordingly, research must regard solidarity with place in order to approach the attachment that is the catalyst to participation in the community. As this attachment is the product of affirmed self-concept, it is logical that those seeking to promote the investment of social capital on the part of community residents must first examine the identities of these residents and provoke them to participation by offering affirmation of characteristics.

Lucian W. Pye (2001) states, "Social progress calls for the accumulation of binding sentiments of trust and reciprocity, which can provide the basis for effective collective behavior. When a society as a whole is deficient in such sentiments, it lacks the capacity for social

mobilization and cannot achieve much economically or politically" (Pye 2001: 381). Shared experience, Lawler indicates, is primary to an individual's attachment to the group and can be conceptualized in the environment individuals collectively experience as their community. In the midst of the disconnect of individuals from their locality in modernity, it is the community that provides not merely for the infrastructural needs of the individual but also the elements and resources of the practical lived experience of individuals through availability of resources, educational expectations, crime rates, etc. The need to understand the individuals involved in the construction of the community, the "human dimensions of development", is candidly summarized by Putnam, "If you don't know the rules of the game, and the players and don't care about the outcome, you are unlikely to try playing yourself" (Uphoff 1999: 215; Putnam 2000: 35).

Viable solutions to the division of individuals displaced from attachments to society are difficult to locate within the confines of a modern urban community. However, the literature, as well as practical efforts to respond to the fragmentation of the individual from the local community are, if they exist, informal and fragmented. This researcher has located no cohesive and functional strategy that formally offers a theoretical structure approaching the development of a community through the lens of identity. From this literature I examine the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The attachment an individual has to their residential community will effect whether or not they participate in voluntary helping behavior within their community.

Hypothesis 2: The role identity of an individual within their neighborhood determines how the individual will participate in voluntary helping behavior within their community.

Hypothesis 3: Perceived rewards associated with an individual's self-concept will determine which aspects of voluntary helping behavior the individual engages in.

Hypothesis 4: Motivation to engage in voluntary helping behavior is the result of positive rewards an individual receives to their identity by participating in the behavior.

Hypothesis 5: Positive rewards will be received when the individual employs the use of their assets as a form of voluntary helping behavior.

APPENDIX B

To be read to participant preceding interview:

The following are questions for the study in which you have consented to participate. As indicated in the consent form, if there are any questions that you would prefer not to answer, you are free to do so. You may withdraw from this study at any point.

This study seeks to gather information about the volunteer habits of individuals who locate themselves within the Upper 9th Ward of New Orleans, LA.

In order to better understand volunteerism in your community I will ask a series of questions which will address elements of yourself, your neighborhood, and your involvement in your neighborhood.

Who are you?

- Can you tell me about where you are from and what brought you to this neighborhood?
- How long have you lived here?
- What neighborhood do you belong to? (Marigny, Bywater, St. Claude)
- Tell me about your relationships in the community, do you have close friends here?
- How did you meet people you know who live here?
- What is your job?
- What made you choose that job?
- How far is your job from the neighborhood you live in?
- What kinds of things are influential to you?

- Why?

- What relationships are most important to you?
- Who do you trust most?
- Whose opinions are most important to you?
- Who is it most important for you to please?
- What social class would you consider yourself to be in?
- Do you have a savings account?

Describe your Neighborhood

- What made you choose this neighborhood?
- Do you like it here?
- What do you like?
- What do you not like?
- Is there someone in the neighborhood you could turn to for help?
- Do you help people in your neighborhood?
- How do you help?
- What needs to you see or experience in your neighborhood?
- How do you think these could be addressed?

- How are any of these needs more important than others?
- Do you feel like you belong here?

Community Involvement

- How do you participate in activities you think are helpful to your community?
- How often do you do these activities?
- Do you think other people in your community volunteer here?
- Does your paid employment serve as a part of your response? If so, how?
- Do you volunteer in neighborhoods outside of the one you live in?
- What do you feel is your obligation to the community you live in?
- Did you fill out the Census this year?
- Do you vote in local elections? State? National?

Volunteering

- How do you understand your resources as valuable to your community?
 - How do you use your resources to help the community?
 - How do you see the ways you participate as helpful?
 - What is important to you that inspires you to volunteer in your community?
 - Does responding in this way fulfill you in any way?
 - Do you have resources you would be willing to volunteer that you currently do not offer?
 - Do you feel limited by anything in particular that keeps you from helping in ways you would like to?
 - How do you feel the political response (if any) has been effective in addressing these needs?
- Why or why not?

Demographics

- What is your age?
 - What is your highest level of education?
 - What is your sex?
 - What is your ethnicity?
 - What is your marital status?
- If unmarried, are you currently in a relationship?

APPENDIX C

MARIGNY

Amos:

- Marigny resident
- Married, middle income multi-ethnic male, late 40s
- Bachelor of Graphic Design
- Works as a graphic designer

Amos grew up “all around the city” in Jefferson, Marrero, and Harvey. His family still lives in the area. Amos describes his family and “putting the fun in dysfunctional”, being very close while experiences multiple cases of mental illness, divorce, and alcoholism. Amos left New Orleans to attend college on a basketball scholarship. It was during this time that he met and married his wife.

Immediately following college, Amos’s wife’s father offered him a job as a minister at a church in Michigan. His wife also worked at the church. Working with the church led to his current approach to trying to “live counter-culturally” after experiencing disappointments with the organized conservative church. While readjusting their paradigm and “breaking away” from the strict rules of the church, he and his wife moved to the inner city in Michigan, fostering children, living as minimalists, and attempting to teach their children diversity and tolerance.

The appeal of the Marigny in their move to New Orleans last year was the “strong sense of community” among diverse people, filling the desire to expose their children to a non-“monochromatic” world. Amos was also ready to return “home”, feeling stifled by the segregated and sheltered environments of college and suburban Michigan in contrast to his experiences growing up. Allowing his wife and children to “be who they are” is very important to Amos and he feels the opportunities of the Marigny and its proximity to the French Quarter allow them a variety of places to engage with and participate in diverse experiences and groups. The value of diversity leads Amos and his family to protect the environment that allows them to enjoy and feel accepted in their own lifestyles. He feels they do this walking and being familiar with their neighbors and by letting their children be active in community happenings, such as basketball leagues. He appreciates efforts to rid the community of blight, but expresses frustration with poor education and lack of food resources in the area.

Jeana:

- Marigny resident
- Married, middle income white female, late 40s
- Bachelor of Elementary Education
- Works as an Educator at a local private school

Jeana was raised conservative Southern Baptist, her father being a Southern Baptist minister. During college and after meeting her husband, Jeana felt compelled to escape the “guilt” she experienced in the “rigid[ity] and structure” of “growing up Southern Baptist in the South”. After college she, her husband, and eldest child moved to Michigan where they stayed 14 years. She describes her life now as a process of “recovering” from her time there.

In moving to New Orleans, where her husband was originally from, about a year ago she sees an opportunity for her children to be exposed to people and experiences she was not afforded. She believes the diversity and acceptance she sees in the Marigny will help her children to more intimately understand what it means to “love everyone”. It is also important to Jeana that her children, who have been bullied in the past for their “eccentric[ities]”, have a space where they are valued. Jeana values the freedom for she and members of her family to express themselves and be “celebrated”.

Likewise, as an educator Jeana feels strongly about advocating for residents to have “a voice” in deciding what opportunities their children are afforded. She feels that though decisions about Colton School, for example, that may not affect her children specifically, are important for her to participate in as a member of the community. She feels strongly about being involved and appreciative to residents across demographic barriers as well. Her youngest son is enrolled with a youth basketball team in what is traditionally considered a high crime area. In fact, someone was shot outside the gym during a practice on one occasion. However, Jeana and her husband express trust in their son’s coach and think about possible threats to safety in the area as “how the world is”, responding “if something happens, something happens”.

Barbara:

- Marigny resident
- Married, middle income white female, 50+
- Master of Education and Post-Adult Learning
- Retired educator of 30 years
- Founding member of Marigny Green
- Board Member of the Faubourg Marigny Improvement Association
- Founding member and volunteer with the Reuse District
- Works as a private Educational Consultant

Barbara grew up in the Uptown neighborhood of New Orleans volunteering, with the encouragement of her family and school requirements, in efforts with environmental and educational movements. She was particularly involved in energy conservation and working with children with disabilities. She attended college locally and earned a Master’s in California. Her educational career primarily focused on special needs and gifted children. Many of her sabbaticals were spent internationally. She continues to advance educationally, receiving specific forms of educational certification.

Though not intentionally planning to return home to New Orleans, in 2001 Barbara and her husband moved into the Marigny neighborhood because of progressive movements gaining popularity in the area. Feeling that his differed from the “glass cage” of Uptown and seeing opportunities to move forward with similar individuals. However, her initial involvements in organizations on the ground did not strategically or objectively satisfy the grassroots efforts she was most interested in. Barbara is particularly passionate about “middle of the road or forgotten” children and environmental sustainability. Her efforts with Marigny Green combine these interests as by providing opportunities for “young people that young people would be interested in creating a sustainable life”. She feels involving young people is necessary for sustainability and preservation. Marigny Green and the Reuse District focus mainly on reducing consumer waste and promoting environmental conservation.

Barbara considers herself “a resource person” and feels she “wears many hats”, effecting how she interacts with those she hopes to bring into organizational tasks she is organizing. She organizes and promotes various tasks including tree planting within the Marigny. Her decisions as to which tasks to offer are dependent upon “What would I be interested in, is it available to me, can I do it, is it feasible?...my objectives and my goals” as well as her specific focus on promoting positive thinking.

Steely:

- Marigny resident
- Single lower income Jewish male, early 20s
- Bachelor of Ethnomusicology
- Works as a College Preparatory Consultant with urban youth
- Works as a local hip-hop Disc Jockey
- Volunteer at Compassion Outreach in the St. Claude community
- Founder of Project Excel College Advancement

Steely grew up in the inner city of St. Paul/Minneapolis, Minnesota as the son of two educators. Because of his Jewish background, he felt he fit more with “underground” culture of the inner city than the “cracker jack” white suburbia. His familiarity and appreciation for lower income people came from his being accepted in their world and with the caring and responsibility for others that his parents instilled in him. He is overtly antagonistic toward suburban lifestyles, consumerism, and capitalism.

His interest in hip-hop and attachment to diverse communities inspired his study in ethnomusicology, a branch of anthropology that incorporates the meaning of music in culture. As an educated individual, He feels a responsibility to be a representative for minorities in mainstream culture and to advocate for understanding and communication between authoritative groups and the socially “misunderstood”. He feels it is important to work with those who are in power in order to represent minority people. As an adult, his lower socioeconomic status has helped him to better understand the struggles of the lower income.

He uses his skills to reach out to urban youth, whom he feels he can relate to in both struggles and interests. He has helped to start college preparatory programs in a local school and with a local church outreach program. As part of this he has built mixing rooms where community youth come to learn how to write provocative social justice rap lyrics and record them. Steely feels obligated to work with “at risk” people and loves doing so in New Orleans because of the diversity of culture it offers. However, he is eager to travel and serve similar communities elsewhere.

BYWATER

Sam:

- Bywater resident
- Single lower income black male, early 20s
- Some college
- Works as a Minister of Youth and Music in a Bywater church

Sam grew up in the Treme neighborhood of New Orleans. Evacuation from Hurricane Katrina relocated he and his uncle to Houston, TX where he finished high school. Sam returned to New

Orleans, hesitantly, during his second year of college in Texas. Though he believed, and continues to feel, that New Orleans has little to offer in the way of personal success, especially for people of color, he returned in 2010 in response to a “call” from God to return to the city. Though Sam does not plan to remain in the city, feeling very little attachment to it, he does believe his “caring heart” came from his early years of growing up in New Orleans. Without any other consistent adults in his life Sam and his siblings learned to care for one another. During high school and his years in college his “huge heart” and desire to “help” translated into active participation in the Student Government Association, Christian organizations, employment as a Resident Assistant, and involvement in a closely knit fraternity with whom he is still active. Fond memories of his life in Texas contrast to negative experiences growing up in the city, further clouding Sam’s understanding of New Orleans as a positive place. He feels the support and encouragement he received from teachers is an exception to the norm. With the urban youth he currently works with, his goals are to provide as strong positive example of black male leadership and to help them “succeed”. Sam’s teachers also promoted caring and instilled in him a desire to succeed and “do better”. He feels that getting out of the city, due to racism and classism, is the only way to have opportunities autonomous and successful. He hopes that the youth he works with will be able to leave the Upper 9th Ward.

Joshua:

- Bywater resident
- Married, middle income white male, late 30s
- Master of Divinity
- Pastor of Bywater church
- On the Administrative Committee of the New Orleans Baptist Association
- Member of the Bywater Neighborhood Association
- Member of LINCNewOrleans, Inc., a city-wide community development organization

Joshua has lived in the Bywater neighborhood since 2001. He, his wife, and two daughters moved to the neighborhood after he finished his Master’s degree at the local seminary and was given the Associate Pastor position at a Bywater church. After visiting New Orleans as a volunteer during his teenage year, Joshua began to feel that he wanted to work in the inner city. He had interacted with inner city culture and needs while growing up in Northport, Alabama on the outskirts of Tuscaloosa living near the poor there.

His experiences in the Bywater are not as “hardcore” as what he had imagined in relation to his experiences volunteering in the St. Thomas projects, for example. His congregation is likewise not what he had expected. Joshua expresses difficulty in understanding what inhibits members from being more attentive to and willing to meet the needs of others. He references the “church culture” he was familiar with in Alabama that was more hospitable and church members who “did not have to be asked” to attend to others in their time of need.

Joshua spends most of his time preparing sermons, visiting members of his congregation, and being with his family of five. He enjoys reading the Bible and praying and is concerned with showing love to others and providing for the safety of his family. His community involvement is related to efforts he makes to expand the impact of the church or with issues that affect his children. He feels that his activities in the New Orleans Baptist Association, the Bywater Neighborhood Association, and LINCNewOrleans are ways that he can be a representative of the church and have a voice in matters that concern how his family is able to live in the Bywater.

Anita:

- Bywater resident
- Married, middle income Hispanic female, 50+
- Master of Curriculum Instruction
- Educator for 28 years
- Works at local community college

Anita moved to New Orleans as a child fleeing Colombia during the revolution with her mother and grandparents. She grew up in the St. Thomas projects and she and her first husband later moved to the suburbs of New Orleans, living in Metairie and Kenner. She and her current husband, a contractor, moved in to the Bywater after buying inexpensive property during the 1990s and renovating it. She indicates that their fear kept them from getting into the neighborhood as “pioneers” who could participate in its renovation. Anita describes the pre-Katrina neighborhood as one that was “hit or miss” as to family values and had a large number of “gothic” people. She feels that post-Katrina Bywater is more friendly and family atmosphere. As a child Anita was a kind of rebel in her family, being more dedicated to American culture than the Colombian culture her mother promoted at home. Though she expresses disappointment now that she can understand Spanish but cannot speak it well, she enjoys the American culture of being able to “find oneself”. She describes herself as being a hippie as a young adult and “losing herself” when she moved to the suburbs by falling into the “conformity and formality of society”. Her “free-spirited” self has been revived in her living in the Bywater. Anita has learned that she appreciates art and is now taking multiple art classes. Her two adult children have also been inspirational in her breaking away from “mold” she had adapted in the suburbs. Anita feels that after she retires she can give back to her community. She is excited to find time to help elderly people do everyday things they need help with, such as traveling to get groceries. She feels that the Bywater is a wonderful place and would like organizations and churches to focus in the St. Claude neighborhood. She attributes most of the need in particular parts of the city to a “hand me everything, give me everything...mentality” as well as a “mentality” that does not allow outsiders to come in and help. She thinks communities should have more appreciation for “outsiders” who come in to fix things.

Wilson:

- Bywater resident
- Unmarried partner, upper income white male, 50+
- Retired Manager of gay bathhouse
- Founding member of Smart Growth Bywater
- Founding member of New Orleans Food Co-op

Wilson came to New Orleans in 1978 to open and manage a gay bathhouse. Unable to return to Holy Cross, the neighborhood he and his partner had lived in pre-Katrina, they moved to the Bywater neighborhood north of St. Claude Avenue. This area was more appealing to Wilson due to the racial, cultural, and economic diversity in the neighborhood that indicated a need for development. Wilson feels that the high cost of government benefits he receives in response to his AIDS diagnosis require him to give back. His interest in developing areas with “underserved” populations led him to become involved in organizations such as the Bywater Neighborhood

Association. After Katrina, Wilson felt that the damage presented an opportunity to use his interest to help the community.

However, troubled by what he perceived as the association's lack of knowledge and attention to marginalized communities such as people of color and queer individuals, Wilson set out to form his own neighborhood association. This association focuses on providing resources that Wilson thinks have previously been lacking, such as grocery store providing fresh, local food. He is also concerned with educating community members about the value of healthy food choices, walkable communities, and sustainable living.

He feels strongly about listening to and working with community residents, some of whom he recognizes he has very little real knowledge about. He is dedicated to constantly learning about the population and is attempting to understand the impact of "gentrification" upon the area north of St. Claude and fighting what he calls the "continued suburbanization of the Bywater".

ST. CLAUDE

Mary:

- St. Claude resident
- Single, middle income black female, 50+
- Retired State Security Officer

Mary grew up near the St. Claude community. She moved to St. Claude in 1999 with her second husband and purchased a home there. Her only significant time out of the city was during her evacuation from Hurricane Katrina when she and her family were in Nashville, TN for three years. During her time away from New Orleans, Mary learned that she did not feel at home outside of the culture of the city. Mary returned to her home in St. Claude, which took on water and needed numerous repairs. Volunteer workers from outside of New Orleans helped to rebuild her home and she attributes their help to God's blessing and faithfulness.

Mary is a very religious individual and feels closely connected to New Orleans not only because many members of her family still live in the city but also because of her "faith community". She is active in many area churches and feels that her life should serve as a form of service and praise to God. As a retired security guard for the state of Louisiana, Mary has the opportunity to help care for her family, specifically her grandchildren, and to engage in happenings at local churches. She feels that a lack of faith has contributed to increased crime in her area and helps to relieve this lack by participating in community events the church sponsors. She thinks that fear and lack of trust in God's promises keeps many people of faith out of the community they might otherwise help.

Mary is excited about her future plans to work from home and get on the road to becoming a millionaire. She has strong desires to travel to Jerusalem and see the roots of her religious faith as a Christian. She wants to be "be a blessing" to the church and to help her family to succeed. She feels that the best opportunities her family and community have is to work together financially to address needs in the area. She feels that renovations and development in the area are for the best and she can see improvements. However, she feels much more needs to be done to adequately prepare the neighborhood for devastating events like Hurricane Katrina.

Willow:

- St. Claude resident

- Married, middle income Acadian female, late 20s
- Works as a Childcare Provider
- Master of Christian Education and Social Work
- Active participant in the Peace for New Orleans organization
- Member of LINCNewOrleans, Inc., a city-wide community development organization

Willow grew up southwest of New Orleans along Bayou La Fouché. As a child she spent a great deal of time in the city for celebrations, festivals, and Mardi Gras. She moved to the city in 2007 to study at the local seminary, and for love of the city, and quickly found herself moving into the Bywater neighborhood. She felt specifically “called” to live in this neighborhood in order to be part of the lives of residents, specifically children, who are part of the lower income population. Willow’s many experiences living across Louisiana have helped her to develop an interest in developing “community” and working with “at risk” children. She has held multiple blue-collar jobs in order to allow her time to informally interact with and invest in the lives of people in her community. She held one position that formally required her to plan and structure activities for urban youth and children, however, she was quickly burnt out by the red tape and politics associated with non-profit work. Willow feels that the “cycle of poverty” is perpetuated by unnecessary logistics placed on the poor and often associates these with the ineffective tactics of non-profit and government organizations.

Since leaving that position, she has attempted to realign her plan of action in the community as one in which she finds personal balance and happiness in order to genuinely care for and address the needs of others. She feels more at ease with herself and a more productive fellow resident when she does not have the pressure of “rescuing” everyone because it is her obligation. Willow is active in her local church and with her husband’s efforts across the city as a peace advocate and employee of Ceasefire New Orleans. Her current employment allows her more access to financial resources she feels are a blessing she should use to help others. She often hires area youth for tasks such as mowing her yard. She enjoys the “simple” lifestyle she is allowed to live in the St. Claude community and finds this to be an integral part of realizing what the important things in her life really are.

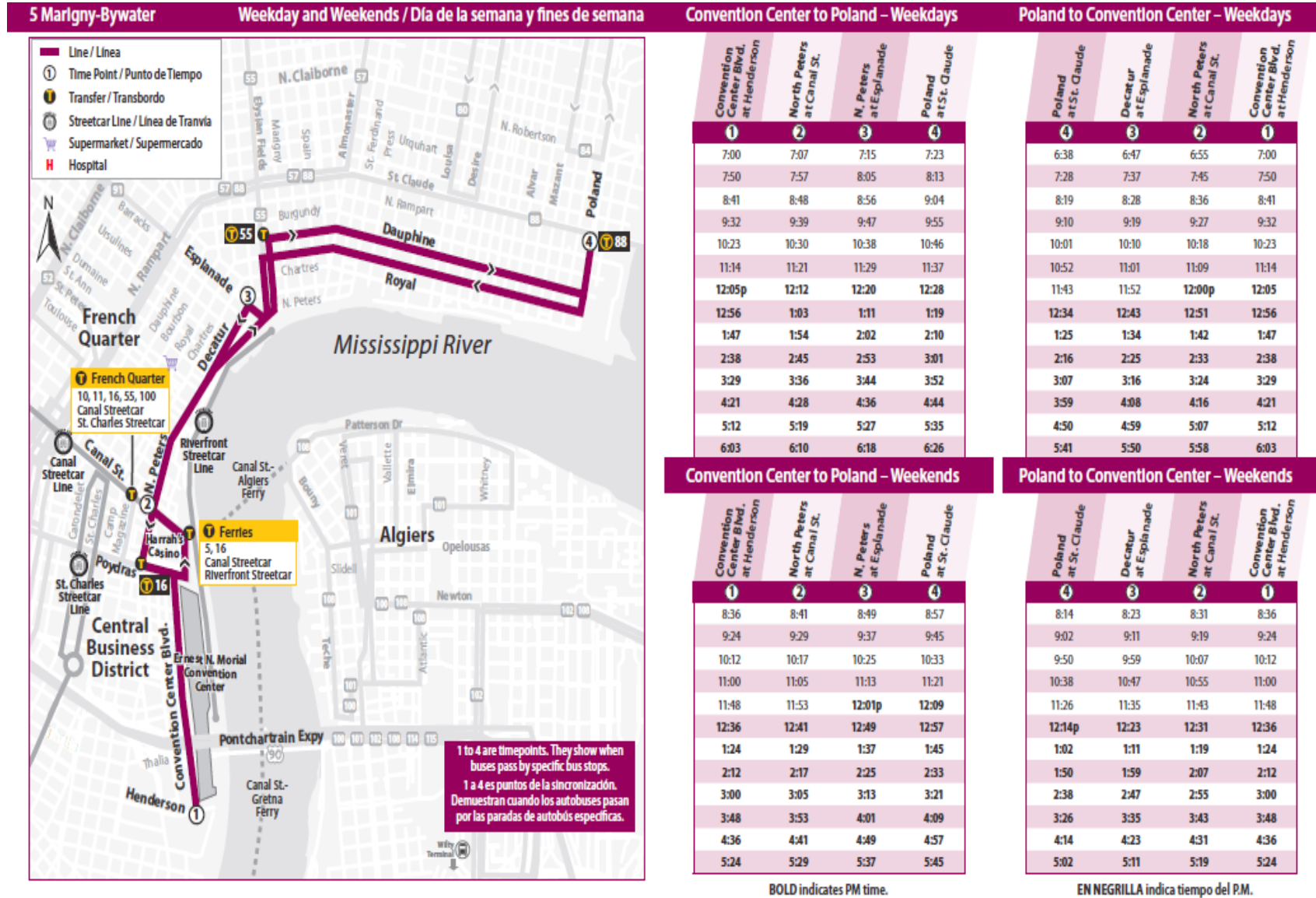
APPENDIX D

Thumbnail of Marigny, Bywater, St. Claude Neighborhoods: Planning District 7



CITY OF NEW ORLEANS City Planning Commission
www.cityofno.com/Portals/Portal52/portal.aspx?tabid=5

APPENDIX E

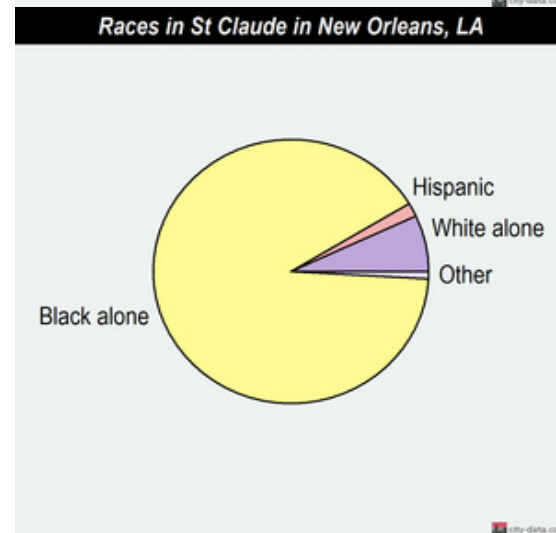
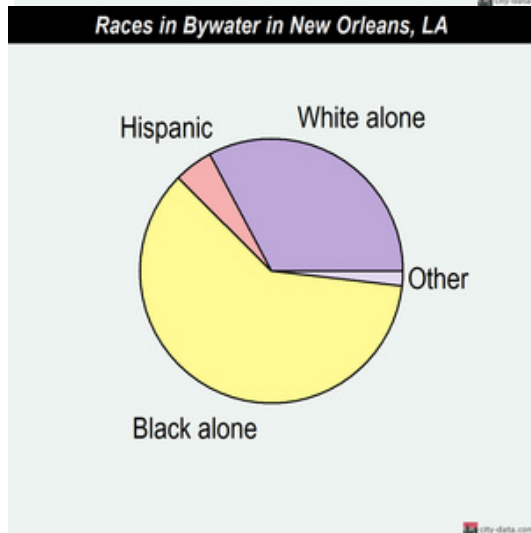
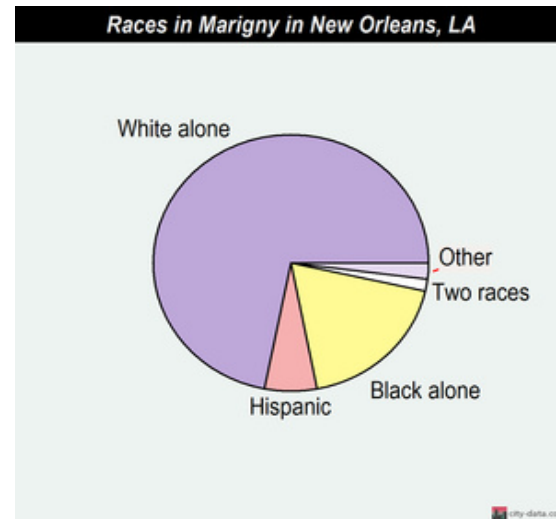
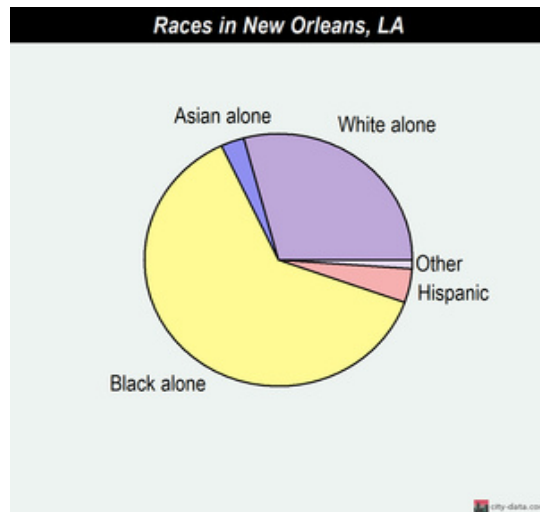


Regional Transit Authority (RTA). 2010. Route 5: Marigny-Bywater Maps and Schedules. www.norta.com.

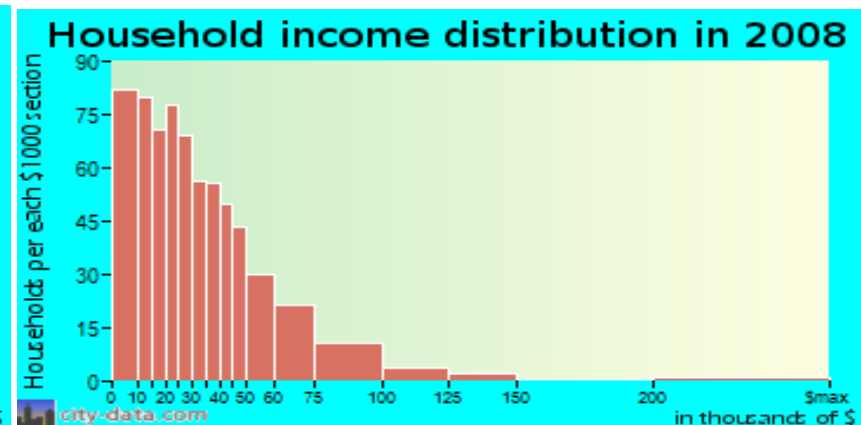
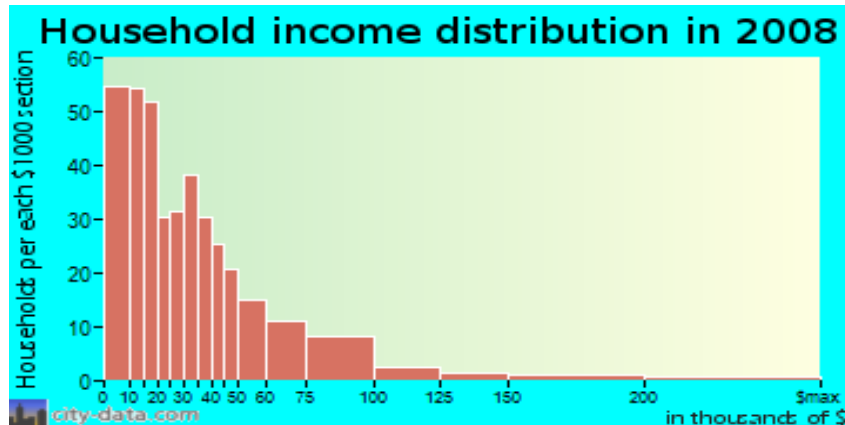
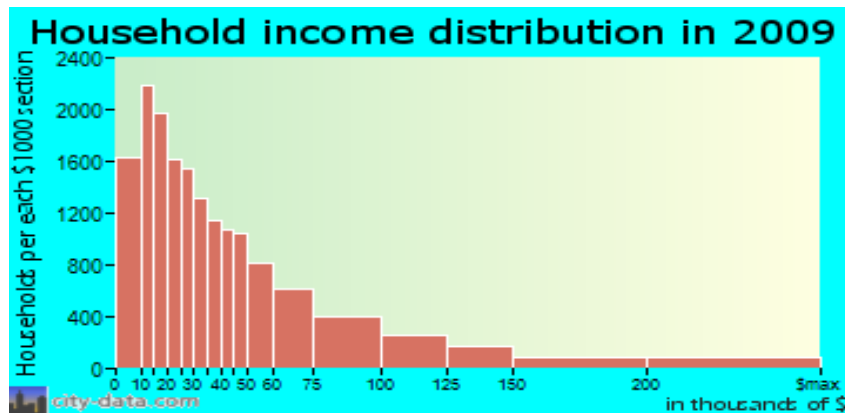
APPENDIX F

NEIGHBORHOOD BREAKDOWN

RACE



CLASS:



INCOME AND POVERTY DISTRIBUTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD

	Marigny	Bywater	St. Claude	New Orleans
Median Household Income	\$32,643	\$26,192	\$27,919	\$36,468
Percent Pop. Below Pov. Level	24.2	38.4	39	27.9

www.city-data.com/neighborhoods

EDUCATION

Area Schools Educational Assessment

School Name	Grade Configuration	2007 Assessment Index	2008 Baseline SPS	SPS Growth	%Free Lunch	%Disabled	%Change in Enrollment
Fredrick A. Douglass High School	9-12	12.7	16.3	3.6	71.62%	10.27%	-9.98%
Dr. Charles Richard Drew Elementary School	PK-8	29.5	34.9	5.4	90.31%	7.17%	3.20%
RSD-run Schools Avg.		29.8	42.7	12.9			

“Schools with an SPS below 60 are deemed
“Academically Unacceptable”.”

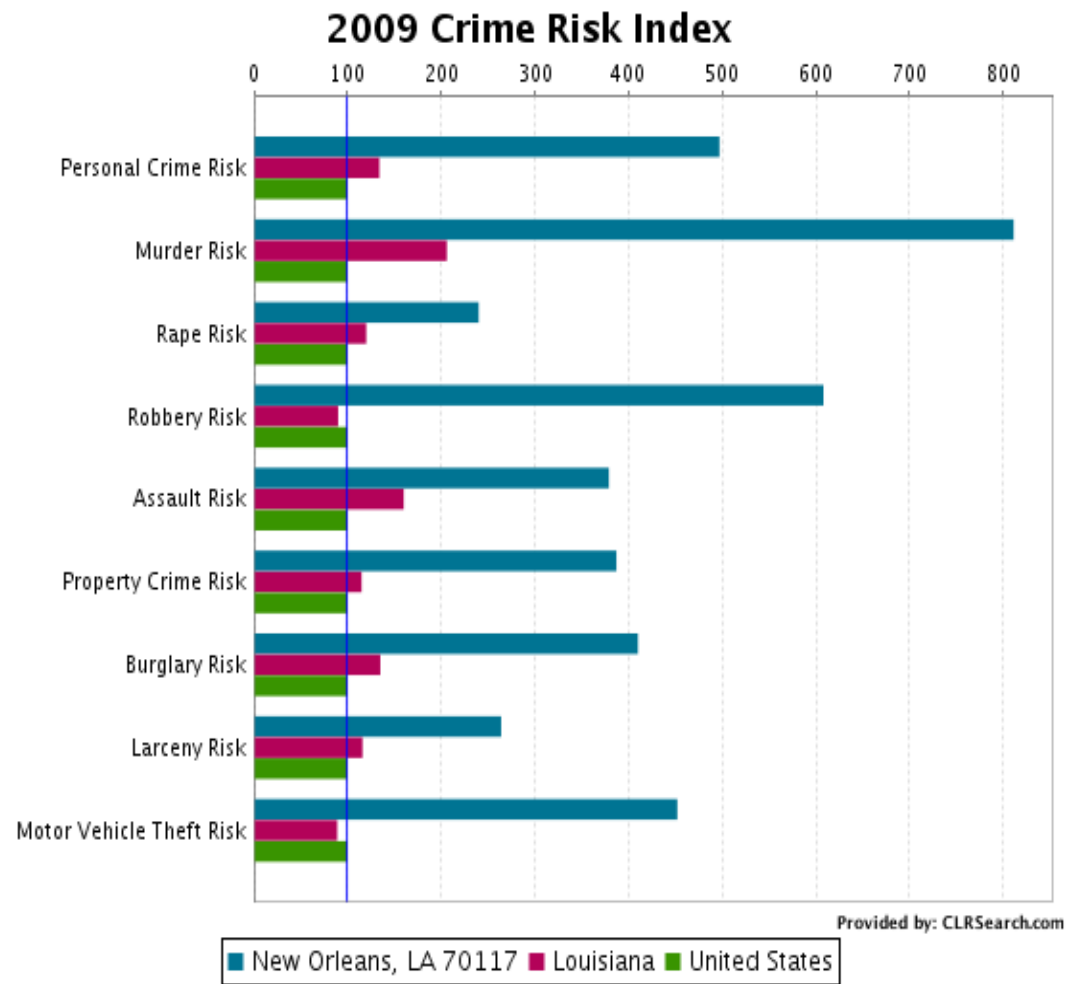
www.coheninstitute.com

Educational attainment by neighborhood (% of population)

	Marigny	Bywater	St. Claude	New Orleans
Less than H.S.	16.8	35.8	35.3	25.3
H.S. or equiv.	15.7	24.9	30.2	23.5
Less than 1 yr. of college	8.8	5.7	6.6	5.6
1 or more yrs. of college	21.5	11.6	15.4	16.3
Associate degree	4	2.1	2.3	3.6
Bachelor's degree	19.1	13.4	7.8	15
Master's degree	8.8	4.4	2.1	6.1
Professional degree	4.3	1.3	2.4	3.3
Doctorate degree	.97	1.3	3.1	1.3

www.city-data.com/neighborhoods

CRIME



APPENDIX G

Institutional Review Board Approval:

***University Committee for the Protection
of Human Subjects in Research
University of New Orleans***

Campus Correspondence

Principal Investigator: D’Lane Compton

Co-Investigator: Jenny Savely

Date: October 29, 2010

Protocol Title: “Why We Help: An Ethnographic Study of Contributors to
Social Capital in the Upper 9th Ward”

IRB#: 07Oct10

The IRB has deemed that the research and procedures described in this protocol application are exempt from federal regulations under 45 CFR 46.101 category 2, due to the fact that any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Exempt protocols do not have an expiration date; however, if there are any changes made to this protocol that may cause it to be no longer exempt from CFR 46, the IRB requires another standard application from the investigator(s) which should provide the same information that is in this application with changes that may have changed the exempt status.

If an adverse, unforeseen event occurs (e.g., physical, social, or emotional harm), you are required to inform the IRB as soon as possible after the event.

Best wishes on your project.
Sincerely,

Robert D. Laird, Ph.D., Chair
UNO Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research

NIH Certification:

Certificate of Completion

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research certifies that **Jenny Savely** successfully completed the NIH Web-based training course “Protecting Human Research Participants”.

Date of completion: 08/23/2010

Certification Number: 462240

VITA

The author was born in Pontotoc, MS. She obtained her Bachelor's degree in Sociology from Mississippi College in 2007. She joined the University of New Orleans Graduate program in Sociology in 2009. She intends to begin work toward the fulfillment of her Ph.D. in Sociology in the fall of 2011 at Texas A&M University, College Station.